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# Daily Report

# East Europe

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CONTENTS


**ALBANIA**

Alia Speech to Eighth AWP Plenum 26 Sep *[ZERI I POPULLIT 29 Sep]* ..... 1
Czechoslovak-Albanian Symposium Opens in Tirana *[Bratislava PRAVDA]* ..... 10

**BULGARIA**

Yilmaz UN Speech 'Absurd, Slanderous' *[BTA]* ..... 11
Turkish Accusations of War Atrocities Denied *[BTA]* ..... 11
Zhivkov Leaves for Berlin Festivities *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 12
Zhivkov Greets European Sports Conference *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 3 Oct]* ..... 12
U.S. State Department Official Visits 4 Oct *[BTA]* ..... 12
Leaders Send Greetings on PRC Anniversary *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 1 Oct]* ..... 12
Zhivkov Greets PRC *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 3 Oct]* ..... 13
DPRK Military Delegation Arrives for Visit *[Pyongyang Radio]* ..... 13
Zhivkov Meets Choe *[BTA]* ..... 13
Dzhurov Meets Chief of Staff *[NARODNA ARMIYA 3 Oct]* ..... 14
Delegation Ends Visit *[BTA]* ..... 14
SRV Delegation Holds Talks With Balev *[BTA]* ..... 14
Friendship Pact Anniversary *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 1 Oct]* ..... 14
Balev Receives Risquet-Led Cuban Delegation *[BTA]* ..... 15
Zhivkov Meets Cubans *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 15
Socialist Nations Need 'Collective Brain' *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 29 Sep]* ..... 15
Brigade 'Acted Correctly' in Work Stoppage *[TRUD 27 Oct]* ..... 16

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

GDR Refugees Still Arriving at FRG Embassy ..... 18
Destination 'Unclear' *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 18
Prague Reports Earlier Departures *[Prague Radio]* ..... 18
More Attempt To Cross Border *[CTK]* ..... 18
Prague Reports U.S. Refusal *[Prague Radio]* ..... 18
Spokesman on Economic Policy, Refugee Situation *[CTK]* ..... 18
Jakes, Delegation Depart for GDR Celebrations *[Prague Radio]* ..... 19
MSZMP Congress To View 'Disintegration' *[RUDE PRAVO 4 Oct]* ..... 19
Rakowski, Jakes Interviewed After 25 Sep Talks *[RUDE PRAVO 26 Sep]* ..... 20
Koruna Revalued Against Poland's Zloty *[RUDE PRAVO 4 Oct]* ..... 21
Johanes Continues Meetings at UN, Departs ..... 21
Sees Counterparts *[CTK]* ..... 21
Meets Malmierca, Manglapus *[Prague Radio]* ..... 22
Talks With 'Aziz, Garba *[CTK]* ..... 22
'Exchanges Views' With De Cuellar *[CTK]* ..... 22
Interviewed on UNGA Session *[CTK]* ..... 23
Sees Session as 'Constructive' *[Bratislava Radio]* ..... 23
Departs U.S. for Venezuela *[CTK]* ..... 24
Chemical Weapons Reduction Proposals Welcomed *[Nyvlt in RUDE PRAVO 4 Oct]* ..... 24
Azerbaijani Blockage of Armenia Viewed *[Bratislava PRAVDA 4 Oct]* ..... 25
Husak Sends Congratulations to Yang Shangkun *[RUDE PRAVO 4 Oct]* ..... 25
Egyptian Research Minister Received in Prague *[RUDE PRAVO 4 Oct]* ..... 25
More Privately-Held Hard Currency Accounts Held *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 2 Oct]* ..... 25
Presidium Discusses Central Committee Preparations *[Prague Radio]* ..... 26
Pitra Views 'Various Problems' in Economy *[RUDE PRAVO 2 Oct]* ..... 26
'Bolder' Promotion of Private Enterprise Urged *[RUDE PRAVO 4 Oct]* ..... 29
New Hussite Church Bishop Installed *[RUDE PRAVO 2 Oct]* ..... 29

Defense Minister Describes Army's Tasks *[Prague TV]* ..... 30
Army Marks World War II Operation *[CTK]* ..... 30
Figures for Theology Students Cited *[RUDE PRAVO 2 Oct]* ..... 31

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Celebration of 40th Anniversary Begins ..... 32
Honecker, Others Honor Pioneers *[East Berlin Radio]* ..... 32
Gorbachev Arrives *[ADN]* ..... 32
Crowds Greet Honecker, Gorbachev *[ADN]* ..... 32
Gorbachev Gets 'Enthusiastic Reception' *[ADN]* ..... 33
Gorbachev Pays Respects *[ADN]* ..... 33
More Delegations Arrive *[ADN]* ..... 33
Paper Says Gorbachev To Propose Changes *[Hamburg BILD]* ..... 33
GDR Restricts Visitor Travel to East Berlin *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 34
Berlin Crossing Point 'Sealed' *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 34
'Many' Injured in Dresden Violence *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 34
Man Dies in Clashes *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 34
Renewed 'Incidents' in Dresden *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 35
ADN Denies Report of Death ..... 35
Reform Groups, Church Leaders Appeal for Calm *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 35
Honecker Proclaims Health 'Excellent' *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 35
Citizens in Warsaw FRG Embassy To Be Expelled *[East Berlin Radio]* ..... 35
Police End Obstruction of U.S. Embassy *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 35
PRAVDA Quoted on Refugee Issue *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 4 Oct]* ..... 36
Artists Question Leaders' Stand on Refugees *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 36
Stoph Rejects FRG 'Caring Duty' for Citizens *[ADN]* ..... 36
Hager Condemns FRG for 'Baiting Campaign' *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 3 Oct]* ..... 37
Workers Militia Vows To Protect Achievements *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 37
Honecker Proposes Negotiations With FRG *[ADN]* ..... 38
Reform Group Sends Open Letter to Gorbachev *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 39
Reinhold Rejects 'Western' Reforms, Capitalism *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 39
Herrmann on 'Consistency' of Party Policy *[Sofia BTA]* ..... 39
CDU Says Leadership Losing Right To Rule *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 40
'New Forum' Spokesman Sees Need for 'Identity' *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 6 Oct]* ..... 40
Water Management Discussed With USSR *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 29 Sep]* ..... 41
University Cooperation Pact Signed With USSR *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 2 Oct]* ..... 41
Egyptian Union Delegation Concludes Visit *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 30 Sep - 1 Oct]* ..... 41

## HUNGARY

14th MSZMP Congress Session Begins 6 Oct ..... 42
Congress To Be 'Completely Open' *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 42
Pre-Session Debates Agenda *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 42
Nemeth Previews Congress *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 42
Congress Delayed; Coverage Details *[Budapest TV]* ..... 43
Congress Opens; To Last 4 Days *[MTI]* ..... 43
Speakers Address Congress *[Budapest TV]* ..... 43
Procedural Debate Continues *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 45
Delegates Vote on Working Order *[MTI]* ..... 45
Nyers on 'New Type' of Party *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 45
Deputies Adopt Agenda *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 46
Grosz Calls for Renewal, Unity *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 46
Further on Grosz Remarks *[MTI]* ..... 46
Pozsgay: 'Reform Forces Will Win' at Congress *[Budapest TV]* ..... 46
Kovacs Interviewed on MSZMP Challenges *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 27 Sep]* ..... 47
Romania Stops Arad Commemoration, Impedes Travel *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 49
Only Diplomats Allowed at Ceremony *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 50
Straub Heads Delegation to GDR Celebration *[MTI]* ..... 50
CSSR Deputy Premier Meets Counterpart, Talks *[MTI]* ..... 50
Talks Continue *[Bratislava Radio]* ..... 50

FRG Provinicial Leaders Visit, Hold Talks ..... 50
Aid To Be Granted *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 50
Cooperation Discussed *[MTI]* ..... 51
FRG's Genscher Cited on Changes in Europe *[MTI]* ..... 51
FRG's Kohl Welcomes 'Historic Changes' Here *[MTI]* ..... 52
Somogyi Leaves to Head Delegation at UN *[MTI]* ..... 52
Pozsgay on Presidency, Elections, Reforms *[Vienna WOCHENPRESSE 6 Oct]* ..... 52
SZDSZ Spokesman on Referendum Petition *[MTI]* ..... 53
Workers Militia Spokesman Holds News Conference *[MAGYAR NEMZET 28 Sep]* ..... 53
Opposition Groups Demonstrate in Kecskemet *[MTI]* ..... 54
National Assembly To Meet Twice in October *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 54
Daily Reports Nemeth Interview to MTI *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 26 Sep]* ..... 54
Hapsburg Sees Role in EC, Not Presidency *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 58
Homeland Party Nominates Presidential Candidate *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 58
Istvan Berecz on Goals of Smallholders' Party *[Vienna Radio]* ..... 58
Government Spokesman Holds News Conference *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 23 Sep]* ..... 59

## POLAND

PAP Reports GDR Refugees Leave Warsaw ..... 60
Further on Departure *[PAP]* ..... 60
DPA Report *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 60
Illegal GDR Refugees Arrested, Returned *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 60
More Refugees Arrive at Warsaw Embassy *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 60
Delays at Kolbaskowo Frontier Crossing *[Szczecin Radio]* ..... 60
Paper Decries 'Dilemmas' Created by GDR *[PAP]* ..... 60
Jaruzelski Receives Pact Meeting Participants *[Warsaw Radio]* ..... 61
King, Queen of Spain Visit Warsaw 3 Oct ..... 61
Jaruzelski Pre-Visit Comments *[Madrid Radio]* ..... 61
Jaruzelski Greets Juan Carlos *[PAP]* ..... 61
President Toasts King at Reception *[PAP]* ..... 62
Polish-Spanish Ministers Meet *[PAP]* ..... 62
Royal Couple Flies to Krakow *[PAP]* ..... 63
Mazowiecki Message on UNCTAD Anniversary *[PAP]* ..... 63
Rakowski Receives Art Collector Porczyanski *[PAP]* ..... 63
Mazowiecki Chairs Council of Ministers Session *[PAP]* ..... 63
NEWSWEEK Interview With Mazowiecki Noted *[PAP]* ..... 64
Mazowiecki on Threats to Democratization *[Madrid YA 3 Oct]* ..... 64
Justice Ministry on Irregularity Allegations *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 25 Sep]* ..... 65
Walesa Sees 'Powder Keg' in Economic Situation *[Warsaw Radio]* ..... 66
Says 'Too Few' Ready To Help *[Belgrade TANJUG]* ..... 66
Solidarity Executive Commission Issues Communique *[PAP]* ..... 66
Presidential Communique on OPZZ Law Dispute *[Warsaw TV]* ..... 67
OPZZ Calls for 'Round Table' Meeting *[PAP]* ..... 67
Jaruzelski Meets Poland's First Postwar Premier *[Warsaw TV]* ..... 67
Wiatr Meets Polish Scout Union Instructors *[TRYBUNA LUDU 2 Oct]* ..... 68
ZSL Prepares for Party Conference *[Warsaw TV]* ..... 68

## ROMANIA

Ceausescu, Delegation Depart for Berlin Ceremonies *[AGERPRES]* ..... 69
Leaders Attend GDR Anniversary Reception *[AGERPRES]* ..... 69
40th Anniversary of PRC's Founding Observed ..... 69
Ambassador Holds Reception *[AGERPRES]* ..... 69
Message Sent to PRC *[SCINTEIA 1 Oct]* ..... 69
'Triumph of Revolution' Hailed *[SCINTEIA 1 Oct]* ..... 70
Andrei Attends Reception *[AGERPRES]* ..... 71
Press Marks Ties *[AGERPRES]* ..... 71
Patan Attends Embassy Dinner *[AGERPRES]* ..... 73
Giosan Receives Costa Rican Parliamentarians *[AGERPRES]* ..... 73
Meets With British Parliamentarian *[AGERPRES]* ..... 73

Ceausescu Receives New Turkish Ambassador *[AGERPRES]* ..... 73
Ceausescu Receives Outgoing Algerian Envoy *[AGERPRES]* ..... 74
Foreign Minister Totu Meets UN's De Cuellar *[AGERPRES]* ..... 74
Leaders' Public Appearances for 23-29 Sep ..... 74

## YUGOSLAVIA

Loncar Assesses Nonaligned Summit Results *[BORBA 22 Sep]* ..... 75
Loncar Addresses UN NAM Ministerial Meeting *[TANJUG]* ..... 75
UN Meetings Reviewed *[TANJUG]* ..... 76
U.S. Envoy Talks With Vojvodina President Kostic *[TANJUG]* ..... 76
Bulatovic To Head Delegation to GDR Festivities *[Belgrade Radio]* ..... 77
Yugoslavs Prevented From Crossing Bulgaria Border *[BORBA 25 Sep]* ..... 77
Citizens' Mistreatment Questioned *[TANJUG]* ..... 77
LCY Presidency on Korosec Remarks to CPCZ *[TANJUG]* ..... 78
BORBA Interviews Italy's De Michelis, Loncar *[19 Sep]* ..... 78
Working Group Prepares for LCY Congress *[TANJUG]* ..... 79
Presidency Takes Steps Toward New Constitution *[TANJUG]* ..... 80
Slovene Airline Office Attacked in Sarajevo *[BORBA 4 Oct]* ..... 80
Slovene Attacks Protect 'Incapable Leaderships' *[DELO 2 Oct]* ..... 80
Further on Slovene Constitutional Amendments ..... 81
Court, Amendments Viewed *[Saradzen on Ljubljana Radio]* ..... 81
Judges Review Amendments *[TANJUG]* ..... 81
Macedonian Party on Amendments *[Belgrade Radio]* ..... 82
Kosovo's Jasari Criticizes Slovene Trends *[BORBA 25 Sep]* ..... 82
Slovene Citizen's Greens Party Founded *[TANJUG]* ..... 83
Workers of Nis Clothing Factory Strike Over Pay *[Belgrade Radio]* ..... 83
Vojvodina LC Presidium Appeals to Istra Workers *[TANJUG]* ..... 83
Macedonian LC Debates Kostojcinoski Candidacy *[TANJUG]* ..... 83
Croatian Alternative Groups Plan 'Unification' *[Belgrade Radio]* ..... 84
Simic on Defending Country, Constitution *[TANJUG]* ..... 84
Albanians Sentenced After Pec Protests *[RILINDJA 27 Sep]* ..... 86
Democratic Intiative Registration Rejected *[TANJUG]* ..... 86
Opacic Sentenced to 3 Months Then Set Free *[BORBA 23-24]* ..... 86
Milosevic Pictures at Serbian Liturgy in Bosnia *[BORBA 25 Sep]* ..... 87
Pancevski Meets Tito Center Graduates *[TANJUG]* ..... 87
TANJUG on Serbian Assembly Session ..... 87
Serbian LC Criticizes Inflation Program *[TANJUG]* ..... 88
Marendic Interviewed on Anti-Inflation Measures *[BORBA 26 Sep]* ..... 88
Market Economy Concept Not To Be Abandoned *[TANJUG]* ..... 89
Report on Strikes Reveals Deepening Crisis *[TANJUG]* ..... 89

## Alia Speech to Eighth AWP Plenum 26 Sep

*AU0510121489 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 29 Sep 89 pp 1-3*

[Speech delivered by Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, at the Eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum on 26 September]

[Text] Dear comrades; throughout our country's historic development during the past half century, in the struggle for national and social liberation as well as in the great battles for our socialist construction, the leading role of our Albanian Workers Party [AWP] has been decisive. All our victories are based on the party, its revolutionary ideology, and its correct and farsighted leadership. We possess a strong party, a party that is tempered in all aspects, a party that is loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the people and socialism, a party that is characterized by the steel-like unity of its own ranks and its creative spirit.

At this meeting of the Central Committee, we are discussing the further strengthening of the party and its leadership role. The aim is to preserve it at all times up to the level of the tasks of the time, always revolutionary and capable of providing solutions to the problems arising in the process of our progress. Let us constantly bear in mind Comrade Enver's teaching that a direct link exists between the tasks confronting the country's socio-economic development and the party's leadership role. The greater the objectives of socialist construction are, the more difficult and complex they are, all the more does the role of communists increase, all the more decisive is the party's leadership.

The experience of the party's comprehensive leadership activity, the successes of its line, and the honored position that it enjoys in society are considered by us to be a strong foundation for new achievements, but never as a perfected thing. History and experience are a source of strength and inspiration, but if they are not properly conceived, if they are not conceived in a dialectical manner and in relation to the party's concrete historic responsibilities, they can induce complacency.

I agree with Comrade Lenka's [Lenka Cuko] report. In my contribution here, I would like to draw attention to some problems that have arisen at the present stage of socialist construction in our country or resulting from current international developments, and particularly those that have emerged in the countries of the East. We live in turbulent times. On the surface, the impression may be created that peaceful trends are in motion, that the problems of mankind are on the way to being resolved, that contradictions and conflicts are being resolved, and that the danger of war is receding as a result of some disarmament measures. In fact, the superpowers, the richer ones, are saying that they are about to resolve these questions, that they are going to help the poor. The demagogy about freedom, democracy, and human rights has never been more intensive than it is now. However, we must not fail to look also at the other side of the medal, at what constitutes the essence of imperialism. The material and spiritual exploitation of the workers class has become even more acute. The surplus value appropriated by the bourgeoisie is assuming ever greater dimensions and the development of technology and know how is being increasingly subjected to this process. In the same way, the exploitation of undeveloped countries by the metropolis has assumed unprecedented dimensions.

Debts, which reach colossal sums of hundreds and thousands of billions of dollars have been transformed into modern instruments for the enslavement of the peoples. If the colonialists used armies and weapons to conquer and exploit countries and entire continents before, they are now using dollars, debts, and interest rates to achieve the same goals, that is, to impose their policies and to secure maximum profits. Capital no longer needs territories and markets. This is obvious in numerous countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, but also in some European countries, such as Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, and elsewhere.

At the same time, the danger of war and aggressions has not receded. Some hearths of war may have been extinguished, but there is no tranquility in the Middle East and people continue to be killed in Southeast Asia and Africa. National conflicts are currently being revived and are catching fire. Ethnic quarrels in the Soviet and Yugoslavia, in relations between Bulgaria and Turkey, and between Hungary and Romania have become extremely exacerbated. The situation in the Balkans, the dangers that this situation represents, is of particular importance to our country. By now it is clear that hotbeds have been stoked in our peninsula, particularly lately, and contradictions have increased. Forces of darkness have been revived and old conflicts have been restoked.

The situation in Yugoslavia is extremely severe. The political and economic crisis has upset all the balances that kept the Yugoslav Federation on its legs. Relations between republics have exacerbated. Quarrels and polemics are accompanied, in particular republics, even by threats of secession from the Federation. Serb chauvinism is striving to impose its hegemony over the entire country. Its aggressiveness is reflected particularly openly in Kosovo, against the Albanians. The latter are subjected to real terror. Arrests have increased, discrimination against the intelligentsia has increased, and the Albanian culture and language are being attacked on a broad front.

Relations between some of the countries in our peninsula have also worsened lately. Consequently, it is possible to say that the process of Balkan cooperation, which began last year, has now been badly compromised. Our country has been and remains interested in having a spirit of good neighborliness prevail in the Balkans. This is our consistent policy and we must therefore intensify efforts to promote the process of Balkan cooperation.

The revisionist betrayal has reinforced the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Gorbachev's perestroyka and the counterrevolutionary reformism has led the process of the transition of Soviet society and of other countries of the East on the capitalist road to the end. Gorbachev and his companions are denying Stalin and the first achievements of socialism, but they do not hesitate either to criticize Lenin and the October Revolution, declaring them to be the source of all the present evils of the Soviet Union. They now mention neither communism nor the national liberation struggles of the peoples, nor the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat. This is logical. They belong to the counterrevolutionary cohorts.

It is a fact that the revolution and the struggle of the peoples have suffered a severe blow from the bourgeoisie and reaction. The opportunistic line is now running through every aspect of ideopolitical life in those countries. It dominates in international conferences and meetings. Its criteria determine every judgment and assessment of events taking place. This is a reality that must be borne in mind, but it cannot reduce the impetus of the revolution, because this is a false reality. Like all social phenomena, the revolution too, has its ups and downs. But the tide of the opportunistic line cannot change the laws of social development. It cannot halt the process of the degeneration of capitalism and its general crisis. It cannot extinguish the revolution. The revolution marches on, because it is impossible for the proletariat and the peoples to reconcile themselves to exploitation and oppression. And the bourgeoisie and imperialism cannot live without exploitation and oppression.

Our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have exposed modern revisionism and have warned the communist movement about this danger since its first symptoms became apparent. Time has shown that these criticisms and forecasts were correct. This has been proved by the miserable end of Yugoslavia, which was the first to embark on the road of revisionism and the first to show, with its consecutive failures, where reformism leads to. This has been proven by the general crisis that has swept the Soviet Union, not to mention Hungary and Poland, which are not only sinking into the morass of debts and are experiencing numerous economic, social, and political difficulties, but which are handing over power, after 45 years, to the most anticommunist forces. The disastrous consequences of revisionism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, the complete political, ideological, economic, and moral degeneration of the countries where the revisionists are in power are being currently interpreted by reaction as a failure of communism. The most renowned spokesman of reaction are talking about the exhaustion of the driving force of socialism, about its bankruptcy, about the fading out of Marx, and so forth.

It is our duty to resolutely oppose these reactionary theses intended to discredit socialism and the ideology of the proletariat and to divert the workers class and the oppressed peoples from the road of the revolution. We must stress what our party foresaw a long time ago: that the source of all that is happening in the Soviet Union and elsewhere lies in their departure from the socialist road. The doctrine of Karl Marx is not taught in those countries. On the contrary, what is preached there is the denial of communism. The replacement of the proletarian ideology by the bourgeois ideology has led to the moral and economic crisis, to the general dissolution. Exposing what is happening in the Soviet Union and other countries of the East, it is our duty to further promote the criticism of revisionism, to further deepen it, and to further enrich it with new arguments.

A more profound examination must be made, in particular, of the circumstances that made the work of revisionism easier, the economic, ideological, and social factors that were exploited by revisionism to undermine socialism. It is absolutely essential that we should dwell on this point, because the manifestation of revisionism is not related merely to the subjective factor, as is sometimes suggested. A Khrushchev, Brezhnev or a Gorbachev emerged, a leadership betrayed, and the people were misled. This is not so. It is true that the subjective factor, when it comes to a country's leadership, is of great importance. However, the fact that a leader or a leadership has the opportunity to reverse the process of social development after 40-45 years, that they can replace a more progressive system with an outdated one, shows that something was not right in the process of the construction of a new society, in the economic and social development of that society. It shows that the control valves have not worked properly, that particular individuals and leading organs have had numerous defects, that the role, control, and participation of the masses in the management of the country were not efficient, not to say that they were merely formal.

Developments in the international situation and the triumph of opportunism as a consequence of the revisionist betrayal bring about changes in the balance of power. They exert an influence in relations between countries, alliances, and military blocs. They change the balance established in one area or another. These developments are also reflected in economic and other types of relations. Our party cannot ignore these phenomena, all the more so since they happen around us and exert their influence on us, too, in various degrees and forms. We must therefore follow these processes carefully, we must study them, and we must try to foresee future developments in order not to be caught unawares under any circumstances and in any way. We must define the necessary positions corresponding to the defense of the country's interests, the defense of socialism, and the defense of the cause of the peoples and the revolution.

It is our duty to show agility in the field of our foreign relations in order to strengthen the country's political positions. Vigilance must be kept sharp, the political level of the masses must be raised, the pace of economic development must remain progressive, the country's defense potential must remain high, and our diplomatic activity must be agile. All this must be inspired and guided by the party.

In the past 45 years of our socialist life, our party has successfully fulfilled its historic tasks. It has emerged triumphant because, at every stage of the revolution, it has loyally and creatively applied the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. This is true of the National Liberation War period and it is true of the period of socialist construction. In our country, the transformations that have taken place in all fields, be it the socialist industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, the investments policy, or the development of education and culture, have been implemented creatively, in a manner removed from ready-made stereotypes and schemes, bearing in mind the country's characteristics, its economic and social condition, traditions, and the psychology of our people. The principle of self-reliance has been and remains the foundation of our entire development.

Socialism has proven itself to be the most efficient system in our people's history. The socialist manner of production and way of life has raised the country's economic potential and has radically transformed the life of the people and their well-being. An exemplary political and economic stability has been created. We are certainly not swimming in abundance. But we are proud and happy that everything that we consume is produced through our own efforts. We owe not a penny to anyone. We look at the future with optimism, because we are convinced in the spirit of the people, in their strength. We are proud to be free, independent, and sovereign.

The road that we have traversed was not strewn with roses. Not will it be strewn with roses in the future. We are also conscious that not everything is being resolved perfectly. This is natural, because the socialist society that we are building is a relatively new society, a society that is guided by lofty ideals, but the road toward these ideals is filled with imponderables. The socialist construction is accompanied by difficulties and obstacles, many of which derive from the backwardness that we inherited, from the strict demands imposed by our independent economic development, but also from the imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

I am stressing the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, to which Comrade Enver constantly drew our attention, because it sometimes appears that this factor is somehow underrated for a number of reasons. Perhaps, because our economic and political activity abroad is increasing, because our relations and contacts with the world are increasing and expanding, some people may perhaps be under the illusion that this encirclement is weakening. This is mistaken and all such illusions are very dangerous. The party must not permit the spreading of such a psychosis. The imperialist-revisionist encirclement is a permanent feature. It is a political, ideological, economic, and military encirclement. The enemies are fighting to eradicate socialism from the face of the earth. They seek to isolate us, they seek to force us to deviate from our road. For this purpose, they are creating difficulties after difficulties. International capitalism does not view kindly the fact that Albania is building socialism, that it is fighting revisionist reformism, that it shows the peoples that the revolution is alive and progressing, and that reliance on internal forces is a principle that has proven its efficiency. We must therefore never forget this reality, but must counteract resolutely and consistently, strengthening the unity of the people around the party, fulfilling and overfulfilling the plans of our economic and social development, reducing imports and increasing exports, strengthening our military potential, and raising our vigilance.

The difficulties encountered in socialist construction are also due to a considerable extent to the lack of experience. We must be aware that, as hitherto, the problems that may emerge must be resolved by seeking the most efficient ways. From this viewpoint, the party must encourage a creative spirit everywhere. Every proposed step must be made the subject of discussion by the masses, the cadres, specialists, and scholars. Discussion about finding ways of promoting the progress of the revolution in conformity with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism is not a tabu. In the same way, the changes imposed by our socialist development and new conditions that may arise do not constitute a sacrilege. Let the bourgeoisie and reaction talk about the opening up of Albania whenever our country acts in the fields of international relations and expands its contacts with the world. Let them interpret whichever way they may wish the changes that we are making or the measures that we are adopting to strengthen the economy and culture, to improve the living standards of the people. This does not worry us, because Albania and our party are still the same as ever. They march resolutely on the road elected by the Albanian people with their people's revolution. [applause]

We have not opened up. We do not open up or close up. Nor do we make changes under anyone else's influence. Every one of our actions is dictated by our own conditions and needs and is subjected solely to the interests of the Albanian people and socialism. What is of fundamental importance to us is that we should promote socialism successfully, that we should bar all ways that may lead to its deformation. This compels us to progress rapidly, to make improvements, to complement things, to rearrange matters wherever this may be necessary. But let us not hesitate to withdraw whenever we take one step beyond the possibilities that have been created. But we will never retreat, no matter what the circumstances may be, in certain directions. We will never permit the weakening of the common socialist property. We will never permit that the way be opened to the return to private property and capitalist exploitation. We will never permit the weakening of the people's authority, the weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the same way that we have never and will never share power with any antipopular force. We will never relinquish and will never permit the weakening of the leadership role of our Marxist-Leninist party for the sake of the so-called pluralism dished out by the bourgeoisie. We will never allow our freedom, independence, and national sovereignty to be trampled underfoot. These are sacred matters for which our party has fought and will continue to

fight consistently, for which our people have shed their blood, and for which we have made numerous sacrifices and are ready to continue to make any sacrifice. [applause]

Bearing in mind these situations and these new tasks, the question arises: What kind of a party must ours be? How should it work to successfully guide the country's socialist construction and to provide new stimuli for the country's development? A more qualified, more scientific effort is currently being required from the communists and their organizations. What is being required from them is persistence and creativity. The party, in all directions, must respond to the problems of the time and must therefore be fresh in its ideals and aspirations, the bearer of the most progressive thinking of society. The strengthening of the party's links with the masses, as always, remains essential in order to face up to these tasks. Communists represent a great revolutionary force, but what plays a decisive role in the construction of socialism are the people, the masses. Communists are progressive people. However, the country cannot be raised to new levels of development without drawing on the most qualified thinking of the broad working masses, of workers and scientists. The party has won its leadership role in society, its vanguard position, because its policy and activity have always corresponded to the interests of the people. The working masses are not only executors of directives but are also, above all else, a creative force that enriches and develop the party's decisions. This was best interpreted by Comrade Enver, when he said: Socialism is built by the masses, the party makes them conscious.

The elevation of the role of the masses is closely tied up with the stimulation of their spirit of initiative, with the establishment of conditions for its broad development. Bureaucratic and technocratic tendencies to establish norms for everything removes the masses from creative activity and hinders their initiative. They violate our socialist democracy. They are not and must not be in the spirit of our party. Communists must bear this well in mind, and so must the party organizations and committees.

Under the conditions of the people's authority, a broad degree of socialist democracy has developed in our country. Our people have never been freer and more independent than they are today. Every citizen of this country has guaranteed rights to employment, education, state health care, national equality, and so forth. Our people themselves discuss and make decisions on the plans for the country's economic and social development. They themselves elect the people in authority. They themselves build and defend their future. This is an undisputed reality that constitutes also the major factor in the moral and political unity of our people.

Is there room for improvement in these fields, in order to further expand the role of the masses, their initiative, and their participation in socialist construction? To assert that everything is in tune with the demands of the age would be neither precise nor dialectical. For this reason, issues relating to revolutionizing the life of the party and cadres, the struggle against bureaucracy and other phenomena, and strengthening the role and controlling capacities of the masses in the struggle against haughtiness, arrogance, and formalism are ever more topical. Hidebound and narrow-minded behavior has dangerous consequences. It fosters desk-bound management methods, and the thrusting aside of the masses and their creative opinions. Such conditions give the green light to careerists, chieftains [bajraktare], and mediocre bureaucrats, forming a contingent of people who can be very dangerous for the fate of socialism. This contingent can be easily manipulated by revisionist ideology; it is a contingent that, wanting to flex its muscles, blunts and paralyzes the creative abilities and role of the working people in the economy and culture, in politics, and defense. Desk-bound management methods enable particular cadres and even entire leading bodies to elude the control of the party, the workers class, and the masses. The struggle against such phenomena and to extend the role of the masses is intimately tied to the strengthening of our social order and socialist democracy.

In the world today, the bourgeoisie is attempting to lay its hands on the banner of the struggle for democracy and human rights. It is even attempting to present its own standards and concepts of democracy and human rights as the only criterion and yardstick of truth on these issues. This diabolical tactic of capitalism, imposing its own standards, which has also found support among the revisionists, in fact gives reaction an opportunity to set up ideological diversions and to interfere in the internal affairs of others. Indeed, our democracy cannot in any way be compared with bourgeois democracy, just as our human rights cannot be compared with those formal rights that workers and peasants have in capitalist countries. Respect for democracy and human rights is an attribute of socialism. It is the essence and core of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the people, not of bourgeois power, whose essence lies in exploitation, oppression, and injustice toward the masses of the people. Therefore, since democracy is a basic principle of socialism, we must incessantly develop and refine it. Increasing the initiative and tightening the controlling capacities of the masses, actively involving them in the discussion of all problems concerning the progress of the country and the implementation of the party's line only annoys bureaucrats, and upsets the apple cart of people who want to exercise their authority through edicts and injunctions. On the other hand, increasing the role of the masses and their active participation in the construction of the country is in the interest of the masses. Comrade Enver emphasized that one of the important factors that gave rise to revisionism in the Soviet Union was the growth of bureaucracy, indifference, and apathy among employees in the apparatus, who always had on the tip of their tongue the slogan: The boss knows best ["znayet nachalstvo," Russian in original]. It is up to the party to further show how specific material, cultural, and ideopolitical circumstances foster these phenomena, and how they should be

combated. However, one thing is utterly clear. The struggle against bureaucracy must never cease. In connection with this, it is the task of party bodies and organizations to continually turn and return to the documents of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver on this point. Let us read and reread his speech of March 1972, and the speech to the cadres of Gjirokaster in 1978. There are plenty of ideas in these speeches which must be pondered and put into practice, refining existing techniques, and introducing new ones. These are matters that must always be reemphasized and determinedly applied.

Workers' control, and control in general, is a similar case. The activities of bureaucrats and careerists who create a gulf between the people and the state cannot be prevented without good control. Let us not forget for a moment Comrade Enver's teaching that conformism and opportunism will arise at the base, if the party and its leading organs relies on peremptory methods and edicts.

Our socialist society has made great progress. The economy and culture have grown and developed at speed. The abilities of cadres and the awareness of working people have risen. It is a source of great satisfaction to listen to cooperativists on television and to meet them personally. They talk quite freely about production, costs, expenses, the supply situation, their brigade leaders, their cooperative management, and so forth. In workplaces also, the workers class talks freely and responsibly. However, is there a way for the voice of the masses to be more effective? After all, there are plenty of instances of damage and misuse, absenteeism, failures to meet norms, violations of discipline, and cronyism. Who commits these things? They are committed by immature cooperativists, workers, and other working people. However, they also stem from weaknesses and concessions on the part of brigade leaders, factory managers, directors, and others.

Under such conditions, can we say that party and trade union organizations and control bodies are doing their work well? What kind of communists and what kind of workers organization do we find in the Ali Kelmendi Combine, the Durres Cigarette Factory, the Tirana Meat Combine, and elsewhere, where production and raw materials are thrown away, where there are abuses and the ugly phenomena of cronyism and indiscipline? These problems cannot be solved without the masses, led by the workers class, rising to their feet, being given authority, and exercising the right that belongs to them to recall and dismiss anybody who violates norms and fails to do his job, whether he is a brigade leader or a top-level cadre, and even though he was appointed by the nomenklatura. Cadres, without exception, must feel that they are dependent on the cooperativist masses, the masses of workers and other working people, and that they and only they judge the quality of their work. Therefore, let us try to draw closer to the working masses, on a basis of responsible work, not merely staying close to leading organs and comrades.

Party organizations must not close their eyes to certain phenomena that have been noticed. The state and party apparatus is becoming excessively swollen with employees. It is specially disturbing to the party that many specialists have left the sphere of production. The question is also that there are cases where even those who have remained do not deal with weighty problems, but devote themselves to generalized research and academic writing. Such a situation must not be permitted to continue. The party has continually stressed that communists must always take the lead in work. However, what happens in practice? Party organizations must ponder deeply the fact that there are many enterprises, cooperatives, and state apparatuses with wage-earners who are not in tune with the militant spirit that the party demands of its members. Comrade Enver strongly emphasized in his speech in Mat the question of the proportion of communists and nonparty members in state organs and management posts. He raised this question as long ago as 1972, and said that the majority should be nonparty members. Today, after almost 20 years, when the political and economic situation has been consolidated even further, when the majority of the population has now been born and raised in the socialist epoch, and everybody has grown up and been educated in the teachings of the party, there is absolutely no reason for the party membership or nonmembership of a candidate to exert the slightest influence over his appointment to a post. Every post, including that of minister, military commander, diplomat, and those in leading state bodies, may be entrusted to a son or daughter of the party quite apart from whether he or she is a member of the party. It is enough for a candidate to be honest and loyal to the cause of the homeland and socialism, and to be able and educated, as are the overwhelming majority of cadres. There is therefore a need for more energetic activity on the part of party organizations to rely more and more strongly on the views of the masses regarding the appointment of cadres, and to abandon certain unnecessary rules involving the nomenklatura in the state apparatus, replacing them with open competitions for appointing people to certain posts and categories of work. Solving these issues will in itself help combat tendencies that can arise among certain immature individuals who think of party membership as a way of making a career and assuming responsibility.

The struggle against bureaucracy and the strengthening of socialist democracy call for a correct balance to be struck between elected bodies and the apparatus. The tendency of party and state apparatuses is to monopolize matters. Here, they exceed their role and function, elbowing elected bodies to one side. It has apparently happened that elected bodies have surrendered much of their authority to them.

It is well-known that the apparatus has no right to make decisions. They are organizations designed to assist elected bodies in analyzing directives and controlling the implementation of decisions, to study different problems and put forward suggestions and proposals for solving

them. Only the elected leadership has the right to make decisions. However, it is not uncommon for branches, directors, and employees of executive bodies to make decisions regarding the people's most essential needs, such as employment, housing, education, and training. It is not a problem of taking away from executive bodies the rights that belong to them. It is a question of everywhere making the power of councillors, deputies, and elected bodies absolute, making socialist democracy more effective, and creating conditions for the masses to exert control and guarantee the proper enforcement of the laws and respect for socialist norms, directly and through their elected representatives.

Increasing the role of the party of the masses in order to strengthen the power of the people is also reflected in democratic suffrage, which for us is universal, direct, and without restriction for every citizen aged 18 and over. In our system, interested people do not put themselves forward as candidates for positions as councillors and deputies, as happens in capitalist countries, but the masses propose them at democratic front meetings, in the districts of towns, and in villages. This is a very democratic procedure which gives the people the opportunity to reject a candidate who does not enjoy the confidence of the masses before they go to the polls.

Nevertheless, the mechanism of the electoral system can be refined, in order to further strengthen the controlling role of the masses. It was a good step during the elections for the people's councils and people's judges this year for candidates to be nominated directly by the mass organizations of young people, women, veterans, and the trade unions, and that, after extensive public discussion in the organizations of the Democratic Front, more than one candidate was put forward for a single office. This creates conditions for a better selection of candidates. Can this procedure be improved? Could it be extended to elections in the party also, starting in basic organizations and their bureaus? Would not limiting the tenure of office of secretaries of basic organizations and bureaus to no more than 4 or 5 successive years, as Comrade Lenka Cuko said in her report, assist in the preparation of every communist as a leader?

All these and other issues must be carefully studied by the party. The question of the nomenklatura and of organizations' competences must be examined, just as the role of the commissions of the people's councils and the People's Assembly and the question of extending the role of the mass organizations, especially the Democratic Front, must be examined. The problem is for the organs of the party and the state to choose the best and most able people who enjoy the respect and affection of the people, so that the working masses will exercise to the full their rights to exercise power and control their representatives' activities.

In the struggle to build socialism, every organization and every communist must be militant. Comrades, the party is faced with many new problems, some more difficult than others, which require appropriate solutions. Such issues emerge in the field of economic development, foreign relations, defense, education, literature, culture, and elsewhere. Communist militancy is reflected in the efforts of every organization and communist to fulfill and exceed their tasks, is reflected in an active attitude to find ways out of problems that emerge, and is expressed in the struggle against difficulties, complacency, and apathy.

More must be asked of basic organizations and communists in every field of social activity. Let us take the class struggle as an example. This phenomenon exists in the most various forms, as the party has said and demonstrated many times. It is a problem evident every day in practice. The class struggle is reflected in foreign relations, just as within the country, in the entire range of social activity. It is not simply a question of the physical presence of the class enemy, but of alien class thinking and erroneous interpretations of various phenomena, the influence of alien ideology, an underestimation of the imperialist-revisionist siege, and the danger this poses to socialism. These are phenomena whose influence on our people is not uncommon, who either underestimate the danger of the influence of alien ideology, or make no distinction between the wheat and the chaff.

Communist militancy is expressed in clear and active attitudes that basic organizations and communists must maintain to ideology. No concession to bourgeois ideology must be made in any field, either in politics, art and culture, or in economic relations. There must be no concession to religious ideology in any of its various forms. We take this stand as convinced atheists, but also in order to protect our unity as a people who, during the centuries, suffered from rifts and divisions inspired by churches and mosques. There must be no concession to alien phenomena that conflict with our socialist morality and the customs which are our national traits.

All this calls for an improvement in the communists' ideopolitical standards, but above all calls for a determined struggle against apathy and indifference, which are dangerous sicknesses for socialism. Communists and cadres must be concerned to fulfill their tasks at all times, should be ambitious in the revolutionary sense of the word, and should break new ground. Those who carry out their tasks honorably and skillfully deserve the name of communist. The party has no need of those who idly stand by when they see the line of the party and the interests of socialism being harmed, who give up when confronted with difficulties and obstacles, and who seek favors for themselves, abusing the title of communist.

Communist militancy and the creative abilities of the party are more necessary than ever today, when we me must give fresh impetus to the comprehensive development of our society. They must especially be expressed in relation to such a problem as the strengthening of the economy, for this is tied to the continual improvement of the people's living standards, which is the party's main mission.

I shall not dwell on the many problems that life poses in this field. I shall merely express a few ideas concerning the social productivity of labor. In all the social productivity of labor, extremely positive results could be obtained by comparing its level today with that of our first years. What we then produced in a year, we now produce in only 3 or 4 days. But how does our social productivity of labor stand in relation to the opportunities for the development of production today? It must be said that it is at quite a low level, because the demands of the age, and especially of the future, are not being met. At present, labor productivity in some sectors almost fails to meet the needs of simple renewal. This is worrying. Let us not forget Lenin's words that, in the last analysis, the superiority of a social order is measured by the level of its social productivity of labor. For example, in our case, are there factors in the mechanism of the organization of labor or administration that hamper increased productivity? If there are, of what kind are they? Are they material or moral? Are they objective or subjective? What is most important is how these key problems of our development are to be solved. It is a large issue, that calls for study. However, it calls for solutions that will be in accordance with our conditions of development and our ideological principles. Apart from the need for technological refinement, it is well known that, under our present conditions, it is the people's labor and their level of awareness and training that is decisive for increasing productivity. Are there problems that must be examined in this field? The task of the party and of state and research organs is to examine them closely, in a creative spirit, and with revolutionary militancy.

In the first place, we need more work to educate working people and to raise their level of awareness. The party organizations, the trade unions, the state, and all the mass organizations have major tasks here. They must seriously reexamine all the work they are doing, because there is monotony, arid moralizing, out-of-date phraseology, and formalism. I am referring here equally to educational and training courses, socialist emulation, visual and oral propaganda, the press, and the television. However, is all this enough in itself? Despite the exceptional importance of a high level of awareness, and I must reemphasize that the party must attach great importance to it, it cannot be expected that awareness alone will raise the level of the labor productivity, and achieve the qualitative standards that modern production requires. Measures in the field of the organization and administration of labor are also required. In this context, do we not feel the need to improve the use of levers and mechanisms that tie working people's remuneration more closely to production, because they make the worker, the specialist, and the manager more interested in achieving productivity and high quality in work? In capitalist society, competition and the threat of bankruptcy and insecurity exercise powerful pressure both on the worker and his employer. The bourgeois economic mechanism is blind and pitiless. It is different in socialism. In our society, this terrible anxiety does not exist. In our case, all working people profit directly, while the shortcomings and difficulties that are reflected in the level of labor productivity and the effectiveness of an enterprise's production are spread in general over society as a whole. For this reason, the individual experiences them in an indirect way.

It is therefore necessary to study the implementation of certain changes in our economic mechanism, in order to determine the common rights and responsibilities of society, the collective, the group, and the individual in the outcome of production. Harmonizing the general interests of society and those of the individual is one of the most difficult problems of socialism. This is also shown by the example of the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries. There, these interests were not harmonized in a way that provided the workers class, the peasantry, and the broad working masses with incentives to raise production. In these countries, they devoted themselves to favors for the bureaucratic apparatus and various layers of the intelligentsia, the military caste, and so on, something which led to large-scale apathy, social conflicts, increased indifference, and passivity.

One major problem connected with the level of labor productivity is the issue of discipline and its enforcement. I am thinking both of technical and scientific discipline, and also of what is called labor discipline. There is a great deal of absenteeism in state enterprises, not to mention the administration, while almost one-third of workers fail to fully meet their norms. This harms production as a whole, especially where the production process is a complex one. Is it fair, seen in the labor context, that the state prescribes that the worker who absents himself without reason should be penalized only to the extent of his pay for that day or the hours he missed? Even in cases where serious breaches of discipline are recorded, if a worker is suspended, after a great deal of soul-searching, protests, and court cases, he merely trots along to another enterprise, without turning a hair. Who needs such generosity? Can a worker who damages socialism be supported? Why must society suffer for the carelessness and absenteeism of an individual? Would it not be just for such a person, whether a worker, a specialist, or a cadre, when he is dismissed for incompetence, violations of discipline, or abuse of his position, to go and work in another place for a definite period at a lower wage? Among us, the view prevails that the state does not leave people unemployed. However, for the sake of socialism, sluggards, the careless, and the irresponsible must not be allowed to profit. In my view, these people can be left without work.

According to the rules of the university, if a student is absent without reason for more than 24 hours, he is expelled from the college for 1 year. Is not a worker who leaves the labor front in the chrome mines, in construction, in a factory, or elsewhere, in order to spend 3, 4, or even 5 days at his cousin's wedding in a village even more seriously to blame?

There are no few cases when lines of imported machines are not installed. These must quickly be put to use. Mass actions are even undertaken for this purpose. Our press calls these revolutionary initiatives, and praises them. But how do these anomalies arise? Who is to blame for them? Do they testify to sound financial discipline, order, administration, and communist responsibility, or to the opposite? Can these things merely be left to the people's conscience? Do not these and other similar cases show that that we lack precisely these mechanisms of financial control for the machinery we import and the resources at an enterprise's disposal, or that these mechanisms are not working properly? Is there not room for studying an additional role for the bank and financial discipline, giving importance to the economic aspect and control through the lek. These problems are vital for the economy's development. It is precisely here that the party should show its creative, mobilizing, and organizational vigor. To solve these problems, party bodies and organizations must inspire the ideas of innovators. Vanguard workers must be encouraged, and the mass organizations and research institutions, etc. stimulated. With this great work, in the struggle to increase productivity and tighten discipline, the militancy and revolutionary spirit of every cadre and communist must find expression.

We must also demand and strongly encourage militancy and a spirit of initiative in the internal life of basic party organizations.

Party meetings must be combative at all times, emancipated from formalism and officialese. Within the party organization everyone is and must be equal, without distinction. Any inferiority or superiority complex, any manifestation of hierarchy, anything that acts as a brake on free thinking and debate must be condemned and rejected.

A few days ago I received a letter from a communist comrade who was complaining that one of the secretaries of the Lezhe District AWP Committee had made a suggestion which, according to my correspondent, was unfair. The matter was related to the stand that the party organization was supposed to adopt concerning the mistake of another communist. One point in this letter drew my attention: Why is it necessary for a district party committee secretary to summon the secretary of the basic organization and suggest what stand should be adopted concerning the mistake of a fellow communist. Is the basic organization itself incapable of passing judgment on such a matter? Why this mistrust toward the base? Whom does this kind of paternalism serve?

The matter is even more serious when such interventions have to do with cadres, directors, and so forth. I am not saying that cronyism was present in the concrete case mentioned. The question is, however, why should cadres not be subjected to the same rules as every other communist. Even in the case of those cadres who make mistakes, they must be subjected to the judgment of the basic organization and decisions on the matter should be adopted there. As I have mentioned before, the nomenklatura organs have a right to defend themselves, but the passing of judgments, the adoption of disciplinary measures, and the revocation or dismissal of cadres when they commit mistakes, must also be the right of the collective and of the basic organization.

One thing must be properly understood: that every cadre and manager must make efforts to win the respect of the collective and of the people, by working with a lofty consciousness, and must not think that he is in clover because he has good relations with the committee or the nomenklatura.

The party's inner life, the spirit of militancy, and debates are frequently harmed not only by interference from above, but also by confused concepts about unity and unanimity. There are those who believe that it is a bad thing if there is no unanimous vote about a communist or cadre for whatever reason. No, this is not right. Unity is a notion with clear political and ideological substance. It has to do with principled matters. We are as one in thought and action about the cause of socialism, the general interest, about the principle of remuneration according to one's labor, about the country's independence, about self-reliance, and other such questions of principle. However, when it comes to the ways of attaining these objectives and the application of these principles, it is normal that there be a variety of opinions, that there be a number of suggestions and solutions, that a complex of measures be adopted, each of which dovetails with the other. Herein lies the question of unanimity. It need not be absolute in all specific cases where there is discussion, exchanges of opinions, studies, and decisions are adopted. This reflects and must of necessity reflect the internal democracy, the spirit of initiative, and the freedom of thought and action in the achievement of socialist ideals. To make a clear distinction between the concepts of unity and unanimity means to distinguish what is principled from what is not, to distinguish between objective laws, on the one hand, and concrete measures and ways of applying their demands, on the other. This makes the party's work easier and imposes logic on our activity.

An ideological homogeneity has been created in our country for a long time now. This is being constantly deepened. We must utilize this great achievement of our society to further develop our socialist democracy in all fields of social activity. Under these conditions debates and the confrontation of ideas, variants, and practices is absolutely normal. In our country these cannot assume the form of social antagonism since the social foundations for such a development are lacking. On the contrary, they develop constantly in the interest of our socialist society and reflect the joint efforts for socialism and progress.

Comrade Enver has said: It is observed that some leaders are afraid of discussions at meetings, because they fear that they may get out hand, that they may deviate from stereotyped formulas. They believe that everything must go like a hot knife through butter. Such a method results in opposing views being expressed outside of meetings.

And when this happens, the alarm is raised about a matter which should have been properly understood by all and sundry, which, unfortunately, is not always the case. Comrade Enver then concludes: Why should we be afraid of discussions, debates, and criticism. Why should we limit self-criticism merely to certain personal matters, instead of developing it onto a broader scale? This in no way reduces the authority of a leader, but helps find correct and rapid solutions to the contradictions that arise in life.

The correct conduct of debate and confrontation requires visible progress in the party's work, particularly its propaganda and educational work. It is absolutely essential to relinquish stereotypes, the repetition of known truths, ready-made phraseology, the dogmatism, and metaphysical thinking that atrophy thought, that fail to set society in motion, that fail to follow the process of development in its dialectics. We need more scientific treatment of the problems that we are confronted with in our objective reality. We need more critical analysis and more creative thinking. In our party and state schools, study institutes, and educational courses, and in the work with the masses, we need to penetrate more deeply in the current ideological, political, economic, and social phenomena. We need analyses based on contemporary developments in order to confront the problems that may arise.

Solicitude for young people must be raised even more and the educational work with them must be further improved. This is not a question affecting only the Union of Working Youth of Albania, but all society, the party organizations and state organs, the schools and cultural institutions. Let us not forget that the absolute majority of the population in our country is under 30 years of age. Young people have their own demands, their numerous interests arising from their age, but also from their cultural standards, which is constantly rising. Our country's youth is ideologically sound, it is ardently patriotic, a fighter for socialism, intelligent, and active. Young people are concerned about the country's problems and are active in the efforts to resolve them. Viewing the matter from this angle, some forms of work which are limited to moralizing about how young people should behave, what they should or should not do at work, in the schools, in public, and so forth, have become outdated and paternalistic.

Is it not necessary for the party and the youth organization to think about and find adequate forms of work responding to the broad interests of young people in general, and some young people in particular, to encourage their initiative and independent action? Youth is the country's future. It is the youth who will further promote socialism. It is therefore the party's duty to educate young people who are knowledgeable from every viewpoint, young people who are courageous, sound, and agile, capable of defending the country and socialism, of confronting difficulties and obstacles. The party secretaries themselves must not fail to establish close and informal contacts with young people. They must explain to these young people what the problems are and what the party is doing to resolve them. They must report to these young people. They must seek their opinions and consult with them. Young people must be considered like fighters, even like most distinguished fighters, because this they are.

Young people today have rising demands concerning the arts, culture, literature, sports, and so forth. The party and other organizations must therefore see to it that they are provided with more publications, more artistic performances, more music, more sports activities, and so forth. Our youth has welcomed with great enthusiasm some literary works by our distinguished writers, some movies, some translations from well-known international authors, a number of concerts, the successes of our volleyball team, which won the Balkan championships, and so forth. Thus, our young people appreciate quality. They are keen to challenge the world. A sports complex was built in Tirana. A fine achievement. But this does not suffice to meet the recreational requirements of young people. Would it not be better for some districts to spend their money on projects for young people, for their entertainment? This is also a theme to be considered by the party organs and organizations.

The strengthening of the party's leadership role and the elevation of communist militancy to higher levels is also closely tied up with the question of party membership, with the qualities of the communists. This matter has been dealt with in the report and I am not going to dwell on this at length. I would like to say, however, that we must always bear in mind that our party is the party of the workers class. This is determined not only by the proletarian ideology of its members, but also by its social composition. For this purpose, by special decision of the AWP Central Committee, admissions into the party's ranks have been made in such a manner that the party's structure preserves the priority of communists from workering class origins. This is right and must continue to be applied in the future. In the same way, rules have been established also with regard to age groups.

As was also stressed at the Ninth AWP Congress, the qualities of the people admitted as party members is of essential importance. Constant attention must be paid to this problem. The party is secure when its members are devoted fighters in the cause of the people and if they place the interests of the people above all else. Every party member, from ordinary communists up to members of the Central Committee, must be aware that the people judges the party by its members behavior and attitudes. The people want to know whether party members are honest, whether they are correct in their behavior, whether they set an example at work and in life, whether they are modest, whether their children are well-behaved and educated, whether they are without pretensions, and so forth.

A number of problems have arisen in connection with the party membership from among the production intelligentsia, as well as the admission of members from the educational, cultural, and scientific sectors. There are

also questions concerning age groups. These matters must undoubtedly be made the subject of studies, because circumstances have changed and, consequently, a number of rules may need to be changed. For example, when it comes to selecting members according to their age, is it right to base calculations on the average age of the entire membership, including pensioners? Would it not be better, when calculating the average age of party members, to separate the pensioners? These people have given a lot to the party and will continue to do so, as much as they can, and will keep the respected name of communists as long as they live. However, the active force of the party will always be represented by those communists who are in production, at work centers, in the countryside, and in institutions. Here the party needs to be young, active, and dynamic.

In addition to workers and cooperatives, other categories of candidates are admitted into the party, under the heading of office workers. As you heard in Comrade Lenka Cuko's report, this includes employees in state and economic offices, regardless of their educational level, including warehouse men, night watchmen, academicians, officers, professors, physicians, controllers, and so forth. Is there room for some corrections here? I believe so. The party is interested in including in its ranks the most distinguished people of the intelligentsia, creative workers, physicians, engineers, scholars, economists, teachers, and so forth, and fewer watchmen and warehouse men, or others employed in offices. The details of how this question is to be resolved will be the subject of a study. One thing must be stressed, however. Those whom we call intellectuals are the sons and daughters of the people, of the workers, of the peasants, of officers, of fighters for socialism, for which they all have fought and have been working for over 45 years on end. These are intellectuals who have been born, bred, and educated by the party and in conformity with its teachings. The efficiency of the party's work requires that the role of the basic organizations should be raised, because it is there, among the communists, workers, and peasants, that we find the foundations of our state power. Everything is resolved, every directive is implemented by them. This is what the communists are fighting for; this is what the mass of the people are fighting for. The problems of social productivity and discipline cannot be resolved, agriculture and education cannot progress, and so forth, unless the party basic organizations adopt the proper decisions and unless it decides what is to be done and how it is to be done. Shortcomings, injustices, and cronyism cannot be tackled unless the basic organizations and the working masses themselves deal with them directly. As in everything else, every committee, every commission, every organ, be it even the AWP Central Committee, may make more mistakes than the basic organization.

The party's strength and its proper administration lies at the foundation of the vitality and continuity of socialism in Albania. Working to raise the role of the party's leadership and to enhance the combative nature of its activity, we are in fact providing new impulses to the economic and social development of our country on the road of socialism. In conformity with Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, we are preparing for the new plans being drafted by the party for the Ninth 5-Year Plan period and are at the same time creating conditions for further raising the people's prosperity and the glory of our socialist country. [applause]

### Czechoslovak-Albanian Symposium Opens in Tirana

*AU0510134689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Oct 89 p 4*

[CTK report: "Symposium on Cooperation With Albania"]

[Text] Tirana—The search for ways of improving mutually advantageous Czechoslovak-Albanian cooperation is the subject of a symposium which began yesterday in Tirana, the Albanian capital city. At the opening of the symposium, Jaroslav Jakubec, chairman of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry [COPK], commented that this is the first event to take place since the signing of an agreement on cooperation between COPK and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Chamber of Commerce. The Koospol and Technopol foreign trade organizations, the Intercoop foreign trade collective organizations, the Sigma Olomouc concern, and the Hydroconsult design institute are all represented at the symposium. The symposium's aim is to improve the flow of information among the member enterprises of both chambers on the opportunities for further expanding cooperation in selected spheres.

### Yilmaz UN Speech 'Absurd, Slanderous'

*AU0410203589 Sofia BTA in English 1945 GMT 4 Oct 89*

["Statement of a Bulgarian Representative"—BTA headline]

[Text] New York, October 4 (BTA)—On the eve of yesterday's session of the UN General Assembly the Bulgarian delegation answered the ungrounded accusations against Bulgaria made on Tuesday by Mr Mesut Yilmaz, Turkey's foreign affairs minister.

On behalf of the delegation Ambassador Ivan Garvalov said that this answer which had not been planned was caused by the absurd pretenses and slanderous accusations in the speech of Mr Yilmaz. It was stressed that the Turkish statement is in deep contrast with the constructive atmosphere of the session.

Mr Ivan Garvalov made a detailed survey of Bulgaro-Turkish contacts and documents in the past and stressed that things always referred to "Bulgarian Muslims" and not to some kind of a "Turkish minority. The introduction of this new element in Turkey's policy regarding Bulgaria is indicative of the adoption of a confrontational approach in the development of bilateral relations. [no closing quotes as received]

The Bulgarian representative stressed that after they have faced the reality in Turkey the citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria are already returning back to their native places. In spite of the obstacles caused by the Turkish Government the number of those who are returning back is above 1000 people per day. This refutes the Turkish allegations that those people had been sent away from Bulgaria by force.

Regarding the ultimate Turkish requirement for conclusion of "an all-round emigrant agreement", placed as a preliminary condition for a dialogue between the two countries Mr Ivan Garvalov said: "In the first place, the emigration issue and therefore, of such kind of agreement was finally dosed in 1982 during the visit to Bulgaria of the present Turkish president and this was marked in a joint communique. The Bulgarian Government does not intend to force or urge to migration a single one of its citizens. The Bulgarian legislation fully guarantees the property, heritage and social rights of Bulgarian citizens, irrespective of where they are either in Bulgaria or abroad. And the migration agreements have out-dated their time and have nothing in common with the agreements of the all-European process in international law. Such an agreement would have been in contradiction the Bulgarian legislation, which guarantees the right of every Bulgarian citizen to freely leave the country and come back to it.

The Bulgarian representative dwelleo in detail on the reasons bringing to a lack of a dialogue between Bulgaria and Turkey. He stressed that there is a base for such a dialogue: This is the Bulgaro-Turkish protocol signed in Belgrade in February, 1988. Unfortunately, the Turkish side pronounced this protocol "a still-born" and refused to fulfill the agreements reached. Recently through the Turkish side's fault, another opportunity for a serious talk failed. In the last moment the Turkish prime minister refused to go to an agreed meeting with Bulgaria's State Council president which after a mutual agreement was to be held on July 25-26 at an open agenda. Once again the Turkish side did not keep its word and showed that it does not want a frank, equal and constructive dialogue. Unfortunately this was confirmed, too, by the Turkish foreign minister before the UN General Assembly, who rejected the constructive approach, stated by the Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs before the same forum.

Mr Ivan Garvalov said in conclusion that Bulgaria is ready for an equal dialogue with no preliminary conditions being set, any time and at any level, for finding of mutually acceptable solutions and normalizing relations between the two countries.

### Turkish Accusations of War Atrocities Denied

*AU0310124789 Sofia BTA in English 1053 GMT 3 Oct 89*

["Scandalous Falsification"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 3 (BTA)—Dimitur Shishmanov's article in OTECHESTVEN FRONT is headlined "Scandalous Falsifications (the Blinding From the Anti-Bulgarian Hysterics in Turkey Offers Yet Another Authentic Document of the Turkish Atrocities)."

The author comments on three drawings and a photo offered by the Turkish SABAH newspaper as "authentic photographs" and "documentary proofs" of the "Bulgarian atrocities" over the Turkish population in Odrin, Thrace, during the Balkan War (1912-1913). OTECHESTVEN FRONT reprints these illustrations.

The drawings published in SABAH on June 19 this year under the heading "Such Is the Bulgarian Violence Before History" were presented as "authentic photographs". Dimitur Shishmanov draws attention to the fact that one of the photographs shows how "Bulgarian soldiers" throw up with their bayonets a woman to a height which is twice as high as the minaret of the mosque and the nearby buildings. Further the Bulgarian journalist writes: The author of the drawings has not taken into consideration something else either: It is difficult to understand whether these were Bulgarian, Greek or Serbian soldiers by their uniforms alone: The painter has put something of the uniforms of the three Balkan states' allies in the Balkan War against Turkey. The publication in SABAH was accompanied, according to Mr Shishmanov, by a confusing explanation about the "great discovery" of "the documents".

The author in OTECHESTVEN FRONT dwells in detail on the photograph published in SABAH. It had a text to it which explained that Bulgarians threw the corpses of

Muslims in the Maritsa River. Dimitur Shishmanov notes that nothing in the corpses of the men taken from the river reminds of the Turkish men's attire, but the photographs show some twenty women mourning the victims. None of these women wears the yashmak and shalwars [Muslim women's trousers] which were obligatory for Turkish women at that time. The faces of all of them are uncovered, which was impossible for Turkish women then, all are wearing Bulgarian east Thracian national costumes. The Bulgarian journalist recalls also the many cases when Bulgarians were killed by the Turks and thrown into the Maritsa during the 1912-1913 war.

His conclusion is: The irresponsibility and overlooking by SABAH due to blindness caused by the anti-Bulgarian campaign offer yet another authentic document about Turkish atrocities over east Thracian Bulgarians.

### Zhivkov Leaves for Berlin Festivities

*AU0610092089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] A Bulgarian party and state delegation led by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and chairman of the State Council, departed today for Berlin. The delegation will take part in the celebrations to mark the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the GDR at the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council.

At the airport the delegation was seen off by Comrades Georgi Atanasov, Grisha Filipov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Ivan Panev, Yordan Yotov, Milko Balev, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Grigor Stoichkov, Petko Danchev, Stoyan Ovcharov, Nacho Papazov, Dimitur Stanishev, and Emil Khristov. Also in attendance was [name indistinct], charge d'affaires ad interim of the GDR Embassy in Bulgaria.

### Zhivkov Greets European Sports Conference

*AU0410132289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Oct 89 p 1*

["Greetings Message of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the Participants in the Ninth European Sports Conference" read at the opening of the conference in Sofia on 2 October by Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the organizing committee for the conference]

[Text] Esteemed delegates and guests, on behalf of the State Council, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and in my own name it gives me great pleasure to most cordially greet you, participants and guests at the Ninth European Sports Conference, and to wish you fruitful work and a pleasant stay in our country.

We all share the conviction that sports can only fulfill their humanitarian mission if they make use of the fruits of knowledge. The chosen theme of your conference ["Sports and Science"] serves as a further confirmation of this conclusion.

The interconnections between sports and science are determined by the profound need for the intellectual and physical components of the life of the individual and society to be in harmony. It is well known that on this basis the immense capabilities of physical culture could be utilized for man's comprehensive development and improvement.

I am sure that your forum will provide impetus toward this noble goal.

The new political realities presuppose an enhancement of the role of the state and society in consolidating the positive trends in international relations and in building a world in which social justice and uninterrupted progress will triumph. Sports have served, are serving, and will continue to serve these aims.

I hope that your visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria will convince you of our policy, aimed at understanding, good-neighborliness, and participating in building up Europe as our common home of confidence, mutual respect, and peaceful cooperation between countries and peoples.

I wish you success once again in your work at the conference.

Todor Zhivkov,

chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

### U.S. State Department Official Visits 4 Oct

*AU0410192789 Sofia BTA in English 1823 GMT 4 Oct 89*

[Text] Sofia, October 4 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Affairs Ministers Mr Ivan Ganev and Mr Lyubomir Popov received today Mr James Swayhart, head of Dept. "East Europe and Yugoslavia" at the U.S. State Department. They discussed a wide range of issues about the international situation, the situation in the Balkans and bilateral relations.

Mr James Swayhart also had meetings with Mr Lyuben Kulishev, secretary of the Commission on Foreign Policy at the National Assembly and with Mr Konstantin Glavanakov, deputy minister of foreign economic relations.

### Leaders Send Greetings on PRC Anniversary

*AU0310224289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Oct 89 p 1*

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent the following telegram to Jiang Zemin, general secretary of

the CPC Central Committee, to Yang Shangkun, president of the People's Republic of China, and to Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council:

Esteemed comrades, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, all of the Bulgarian people, and in our own names we convey to you, the CPC Central Committee, the PRC Government, and the Chinese people most sincere congratulations and cordial good wishes on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China.

It was 40 years ago that, under the leadership of the CPC, the many-years-long heroic struggle of the Chinese people against the imperialist and reactionary forces for national and social liberation victoriously ended with the foundation of the People's Republic of China. This marked the beginning of a new era in China's history. Within a historically brief period of time the Chinese people, through their self-sacrificing labor, transformed their native land into a socialist state with a dynamically developing industry and agriculture and rich cultural activities.

The Bulgarian people are following with interest and experience sincere joy in the achievements and successes of the Chinese workers in the building of the new life. We believe that the renewing changes in China will be crowned with complete success and will reveal even more vividly the true potential of socialism on Chinese soil.

We highly commend the active contribution of the People's Republic of China to the joint efforts of the peace-loving forces directed at establishing security and understanding between peoples in the present-day interconnected and interdependent world.

We note with a feeling of deep profound satisfaction that the comprehensive relations between our two parties, countries, and peoples have been activated and extended in recent years, acquiring a qualitatively new character. We are convinced that the friendly Bulgarian-Chinese relations and fruitful cooperation will continue to develop and deepen in the future in the interest of our two peoples and of peace and socialism.

On this notable day for you, we convey our heartfelt wishes to the friendly Chinese people for new, even greater successes in the development of the People's Republic of China and for happiness and prosperity.

### Zhivkov Greets PRC

*AU0410132089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Oct 89 p 1*

[Text] State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov has sent a telegram to PRC President Yang Shangkun conveying most sincere greetings on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PRC.

Over 4 decades the fruitful and mutually beneficial cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PRC has been serving the interests of our peoples and their efforts in building the socialist society, the telegram states. Confidence is expressed that the traditional Bulgarian-Chinese relations of friendship and cooperation will continue to expand and deepen.

### DPRK Military Delegation Arrives for Visit

*SK0510103089 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 1300 GMT 30 Sep 89*

[Text] A DPRK military delegation led by Comrade Choe Kwang, candidate member of the WPK Central Committee Political Bureau and chief of general staff of the Korean People's Army arrived in Sofia on 28 September to visit Bulgaria. The delegation was received at the airport by Atanas Semerdzhiev, Bulgarian first deputy minister of national defense and commander in chief of the People's Army; Vasil Zikulov, deputy chief of the People's Army and director of the Police Bureau; and other relevant officials. Our country's ambassador to Bulgaria and officials of our country's embassy in Bulgaria were also present at the airport.

Earlier that day, the delegation had left Bucharest after winding up its visit to Romania. The delegation was seen off at the airport by Stefan Gusa, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of staff of the People's Army; the first deputy chief of staff and the deputy chief of staff of the People's Army; other relevant officials, and our country's ambassador to Romania and officials from our country's embassy in Romania.

### Zhivkov Meets Choe

*AU0210195889 Sofia BTA in English 1842 GMT 2 Oct 89*

[Text] Sofia, October 2 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, today received Army General Choe Kwang, alternate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and chief of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army, who is visiting here at the head of a military delegation.

The guest conveyed to Mr Zhivkov most cordial greetings from Mr Kim Il-song, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and president of the DPRK. He thanked for the solidarity and support which Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people give to the DPRK's constructive initiatives seeking an improvement of the situation in the region and the country's peaceful reunification.

Mr Todor Zhivkov thanked for the sincere wishes and conveyed warm greetings to Mr Kim Il-song. He emphasized that the Bulgarian people commends highly its friendship with the people of the DPRK and expressed the confidence that it will be further strengthened and diversified.

The guest was familiarized with the restructuring underway in this country and with the role and the place of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the processes of renewal.

### Dzhurov Meets Chief of Staff

*AU0410153089 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 89 pp 1, 3*

[Text] Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Politburo member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and minister of national defense, received at the Ministry of Defense in Sofia on 2 October the official DPRK delegation led by Army General Choe Kwang, candidate member of the Politburo of the Korean Workers Party and chief of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army.

The meeting was attended by Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army [BPA]; Col Gen Mitko Mitkov, chief of the BPA Main Political Administration; and Lieutenant Generals Radnyu Minchev and Khristo Radonov, first deputy chiefs of the BPA General Staff.

Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov most cordially welcomed the Korean guests on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense. The minister of national defense stated that the contacts and cooperation between the two country's military departments were of long standing. Recently they had become more frequent, and the current visit of the Korean military delegation raised them to a new, higher level. Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov wished the representatives of the Korean People's Army good health, happiness, and fruitful meetings on Bulgarian soil.

Army Gen Choe Kwang expressed his heartfelt gratitude for the warm reception and the friendly atmosphere in Bulgaria, which he had felt everywhere he went in the country. During our stay, he said, we were able to see the huge successes achieved by the PRB [People's Republic of Bulgaria] in the construction of socialism and in raising the country's defense capability under the leadership of the BCP, led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. We are convinced, declared the chief of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army, that the two peoples and Armies are linked by close ties. The relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation are multiplying with every passing day.

The reception was held in a warm, cordial atmosphere.

Also present were Kim Pyong-Il, DPRK ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, and Kan Ryong-u, army, air force, and naval attache at the DPRK Embassy in Bulgaria.

### Delegation Ends Visit

*AU0510100089 Sofia BTA in English 0907 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Sofia, October 5 (BTA)—An official military delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea headed by Army General Choe Kwang, alternate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and chief of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army, paid a visit to this country.

The leader of the delegation was received by Mr Todor Zhivkov.

The delegation was received by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and minister of national defence.

The guests had talks with Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defence and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army. They discussed the future of cooperation between the Bulgarian People's Army and the Korean People's Army.

The Korean delegation visited military schools and branches of the Bulgarian People's Army in the country.

On Wednesday [4 October] the guests left the country.

### SRV Delegation Holds Talks With Balev

*AU2909193289 Sofia BTA in English 1729 GMT 29 Sep 89*

[Text] Varna, September 29 (BTA)—A delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV], headed by Mr Tran Xuan Bach, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the CPV, paid a visit to this country at the invitation of the CC of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

In the talks with a delegation of the BCP headed by Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, information was exchanged about the tasks which communists and working people in the two countries are solving for the deepening of the process of restructuring in Bulgaria and in Vietnam.

The attention was focused on the possibilities for improvement of cooperation between the two friendly parties. Mutual willingness was expressed to seek new, more efficient types of interaction which will contribute to deepening of the all-round Bulgaro-Vietnamese relations.

### Friendship Pact Anniversary

*AU0410124389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Oct 89 p 1*

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent a greetings telegram to Nguyen Van Linh, general secrerary of

the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party, to Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the Council of State, and to Do Muoi, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Bulgaria and the SRV.

This treaty opened a new stage in the development of bilateral relations, constructed on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and became an effective factor in the continous expansion and deepening of the comprehensive cooperation between our two parties, the telegram states. It is pointed out that, during the years that have elapsed, the traditional ties between the parties, state and public organizations, and scientific and cultural institutes of the two countries have been further developed, and it is emphasized that substantial results have been achieved in economic cooperation and in the exchange of intellectual values and experience in building the new society.

Confidence is expressed that in the future the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation will continue to be of assistance in solving the tasks facing the two countries.

### Balev Receives Risquet-Led Cuban Delegation

*AU0210075789 Sofia BTA in English 1913 GMT 1 Oct 89*

[Text] Sofia, October 1 (BTA)—A delegation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], led by Mr Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, conferred here today with a delegation of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party headed by Mr Jorge Risquet Valdes, Politburo member and secretary of the party's Central Committee. The Cuban delegation is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the CC of the BCP.

The sides briefed each other and exchanged views on a wide range of questions concerning the construction of socialism in the two countries, on the international situation and on the cooperation between the BCP and the CPC. The shared desire was reaffirmed for a further strengthening and promotion of the fraternal friendship and cooperation between the two parties, countries and peoples on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and international solidarity.

The Cuban guests visited the city of Varna and were familiarized with the reforms carried out under the guidance of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the economy, science, agriculture and tourism.

### Zhivkov Meets Cubans

*AU0210121589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 2 Oct 89*

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov, received Jorge Risquet Valdes, Politburo member and secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Committee, who is visiting Bulgaria. Let us hear a few details about the meeting.

The guest was briefed on the practical implementation of the July concept for the fundamental renewal of socialism in Bulgaria. It was stressed that our country's foreign political efforts are unswervingly aimed at the development of good-neighborly relations, at the consolidation of peace, security, and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world.

Jorge Risquet Valdes briefed Todor Zhivkov on the Cuban people's successes in socialist construction, on the process of correcting mistakes and overcoming negative phenomena which is taking place in his country under the leadership of the PCC.

During the talk great appreciation was expressed for the friendly relations and cooperation between the two parties, between Bulgaria and Cuba, relations which are developing on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and international solidarity.

It was pointed out that the processes of fundamental renewal of socialism should be further expanded by taking into consideration the specific conditions of each party and country.

The requirement for further consolidating cooperation, unity, and solidarity among communist and workers parties from the socialist countries was stressed. The resolve of both parties to oppose the attempts of imperialist and antisocialist circles to discredit socialism and to interfere, from a position of strength and diktat, in the internal affairs of individual socialist countries was emphasized.

The solidarity of the BCP and the PCC with the struggle of peoples in Latin America, Africa, and Asia for a just solution of the problem of foreign debts and for the establishment of a new and more just economic order was confirmed.

The meeting was attended by Comrades Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev, and by Manuel Perez Hernandez, Cuba's ambassador to Sofia.

### Socialist Nations Need 'Collective Brain'

*AU0310142389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Sep 89 pp 1, 2*

[Statement by Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party: "Collective Brain and Joint Actions"]

[Text] Boyko Vutov, RABOTNICHESKO DELO representative, approached Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, with a request to briefly assess the character, content, and results of the conference of the secretaries of the central committees of the socialist communist and workers' parties on international issues that just ended in Varna.

First of all I would like to recall that these meetings are traditional—they have been held regularly during the last 16 years. However, recently their character began to

change, and they became more frank, realistic, and constructive, and based on real discussion.

This is only natural. Judge for yourself—the previous meeting of the secretaries on international issues of the fraternal parties took place in Havana in March 1989. So many changes have taken place in the world, in the world positions of socialism, and in the socialist countries themselves since then!

We live at a unusual and dynamic time, and this inevitably influences both the subject-matter and essence of our meetings and talks. While certain issues had been planned in Havana, other, new issues were discussed in Varna.

The agenda of the conference that just ended logically encompassed such basic issues as the changes that have taken place in the world and first of all the new processes in the European continent, the fundamental changes in the world of socialism, the new possibilities of revealing the great potential of our social system under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution, the exchange of experience among the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, and in searching for new forms of activity and investing it with new content.

I can summarize the basic conclusions we jointly reached as follows:

First. It was ascertained that the world is at a stage of fundamental changes. The foreign policy initiative of the socialist countries, which has sharply increased in recent years, activated the mechanism of the talks first of all on the main issues of disarmament, as well as on other aspects of strengthening confidence and cooperation. A new stage of international relations has begun.

Second. Socialism, which is the foundation of the present breakthrough in the international situation, is experiencing a difficult period of its development. Its ability not only to renew itself, but also to defend its principles and ideals is being tested. The main task today comes down to the following: to become a force that makes an important contribution to strengthening the growing cooperation among states, while again analyzing in a new way our national interests under the present conditions and preserving, enriching, and developing our national originality and socialist essence.

Third. The threats, that could undermine the positive tendencies which emerged recently, have still not been eliminated. It is difficult to overcome the psychology of confrontation that was created during the years of the cold war. Not all people yet understand that in our increasingly mutually dependent world the stability of every state is a factor in protecting international stability. A specific tendency to render selective support to specific processes and countries in the socialist world, combining this with actively opposing and pressuring other countries, is evident in the West. This inevitably concerns us.

Fourth. Under the new conditions the socialist countries accept the diversity of forms and character of their internal renewal and foreign policy approaches as a asset. In this situation, the working out and conducting of a coordinated course will require more efforts, mutual respect, responsibility, and ethics. In other words, now, more than ever, we need a collective brain and joint actions.

The facts prove that socialism is leaving its old state. The hopes of its adversaries were not justified. It is experiencing difficulties, but already has a clear vision of how to overcome them. This guarantees success, gives hope to the working people, and relates world development to those successes.

This is the subject that generated a profound and frank discussion. I think that all were satisfied with it, at least, for one important reason—everyone talked about his experience and vision, and profited from the experience and vision of the others. This is especially important at the present time, when new, and often unconventional solutions of the problems must be sought. Everyone must adapt in his own way to the changing conditions.

Naturally, there were differences and diversity in the opinions. Indeed, there always have been such differences and diversity, however, now we accept them calmly and rationally, as a natural expression of the diversity of the conditions under which Communists in various countries are working. The important factor is that once again the coincidence of opinions on the main issues and the striving to maximally master the great potential of socialism were clearly felt and expressed. Practice again showed that these conferences are useful and in the near future they will become even more businesslike, and their contents will be enriched.

I think that this conference, like other recent meetings and joint enterprises of the socialist countries, was another step toward outlining the new pattern of relations among us. Those relations are characterized by equality, mutual respect and responsibility, and the mutual striving to restore and raise high the ideals of socialism, and use them to defend universal values and ideals.

## Brigade 'Acted Correctly' in Work Stoppage

*AU0510125789 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 27 Oct 89 p 2*

[Sonya Gulubarova article: "Clashes—Refusal and Way Out"]

[Excerpts] The "Presformi" brigade of the mechanical repair plant attached to the Vidin Technological Chemical Combine refused to work on 1 August 1989.

I agree that such a "naked" fact sounds disturbing. It evokes associations of other things to which the mild term "refusal" by no means applies. Our ears, which are accustomed to hearing about collective initiatives and overfulfilled plans, are shocked. Nevertheless, facts are facts, and apart from the initial confusion they caused, they

disclosed reasons, circumstances, human destinies, and consequences. Naturally, these facts require arguments, explanations, and conclusions to be drawn, instead of hushing up and glossing over the events in question.

This is what happened: The brigade leader Vanyo Dikov, his colleagues Simeon, Tsvetan, Boris, and all other 11 mechanics-fitters from his brigade, besides their other activities, are also engaged in processing molds for automobile tires. This is done with cast-iron blanks and and with a grinder. To translate it in understandable language—it means that a considerable amount of metal dust (14 times greater than the permitted tolerance) is produced during this operation, which penetrates the workers' lungs, damaging their health.

It is hardly likely that the workers should show concern about their health only now, having used this work method for a dozen years. Naturally, this is not the case, and there have been claims for an improvement of working conditions also in the past. However, they got lost somewhere between the eternal race for the fulfillment of economic plans and trade union meetings. The last claim dates back to June 1989, when the economic management and the trade union leadership of the plant convened a meeting. It was not without result, if we can accept the recommendation to the labor protection organs, according to which they were instructed strictly to observe the use of protective masks and the supply free of charge of special food for health protection, as a result. The management was urged to find a technical solution for the installment of breathing apparatuses at each workplace. [passage omitted]

Since these measures did not produce any essential changes, this resulted in the refusal to work on 1 August 1989. Hence, the rumor that spread around in Vidin—namely that "something unusual was going on in the Technical Chemical Combine." This was followed by the unmistakable stand of the basic trade union committee voiced under Orlin Zankov's leadership and supported by the trade union council of the combine, and by its chairman, Ana Mikova, in particular. The refusal to work did not cause them to loose their heads. They did not hesitate to brief the plant's party leadership and economic management on the conflict and worked in a manner, worthy of real trade unionists, to rally all opinions in a common stand, confirming that the brigade had acted correctly and should be supported. [passage omitted)

It is obvious, that not only the management of the Vidin Technical Chemical Combine, but also the workers are acquainted with the Labor Code regulations. They know that they not only have to observe these regulations, but they also can place them at their own service. This is how the ensuing measures should be explained: The workers of the brigade in question were temporarily transferred to other workshops of the plant, or are engaged in the same workshop in operations which are not harmful to their health. [passage omitted]

In the final analysis only a company that takes care of its personnel and assists the working people, who are its greatest asset, can be strong and prosperous. Otherwise, we will just talk about the protection of labor and the protection of our working man. Our working man, however, will have to bear the results of occupational diseases. The refusal to work under harmful and dangerous conditions, which is supported by the trade unions, is not an affectation, it is not an act of copying other people's attitudes. It is an appeal to the present-day society based on economic principles, because all great plans would remain theory, without the participation of healthy and able-bodied workers.

## GDR Refugees Still Arriving at FRG Embassy

### Destination 'Unclear'

*LD0510141489 Hamburg DPA in German 1336 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Excerpt] Prague (DPA)—Approximately 300 GDR citizens are still in the FRG Embassy in Prague after the conclusion of the second wave of emigration. Around 30 of these are new arrivals. It is still unclear what decision they will make—whether they wish to emigrate after an interim stay in the GDR or to emigrate directly to the FRG. [passage omitted]

### Prague Reports Earlier Departures

*LD0510172889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Eight special trains carrying GDR citizens who were illegally staying at the FRG Embassy in Prague arrived today in Hof, a Bavarian town on the border. The newcomers are staying there only for a short time and they are put above all, in buildings of the Bundeswehr and the FRG border police.

About 600 GDR citizens who are staying at the FRG Embassy in Warsaw will be taken today by a special train to the FRG, according to a DPA press agency report.

### More Attempt To Cross Border

*LD0510200289 Prague CTK in English 1800 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Prague Oct 5 (CTK)—Attempts by citizens of the German Democratic Republic to illegally cross the border to Czechoslovakia have become more frequent since Tuesday's measure of the GDR Government suspending visa-free travel to Czechoslovakia, spokesman for the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry Jiri Belohlavek has told CTK.

He added that some 400 GDR citizens illegally entering Czechoslovak territory have been returned to the GDR by Czechoslovak border guards these days. Further effective measures are being taken to increase the protection of the Czechoslovak state borders.

Czechoslovak citizens with a valid passport can travel to the German Democratic Republic without any limitations, the spokesman said.

The traffic on border crossings between Czechoslovakia and the GDR has considerably decreased since the limitation of GDR citizens' travels to Czechoslovakia.

International expresses coming from the GDR were delayed by up to five hours on Wednesday due to stricter control by GDR border guards. The situation has gradually normalized.

### Prague Reports U.S. Refusal

*LD0610103189 Prague in Czech to Europe 2230 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] A U.S. State Department spokesman in Washington has announced that U.S. embassies overseas cannot become refuges for even small groups of people. This is particularly true about the people who want to force their way abroad by staying at diplomatic missions.

## Spokesman on Economic Policy, Refugee Situation

*LD0510195689 Prague CTK in English 1837 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Prague Oct 5 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Finance Minister Jan Stejskal informed journalists here today on a draft government regulation concerning financial economy of state enterprises and the concept of creating conditions for the transition towards a single exchange rate and convertibility of the Czechoslovak crown.

Speaking at a press conference held at the Czechoslovak Government Presidium Office the minister stressed that the draft regulation concerns rules of financial economy of individual plants which inter alia include the principle of self-financing and envisage direct financial relations between state enterprises and state budgets without interlinks which formerly mediated the re- distribution of means.

The minister pointed out that the planned changes are consistently based on the principle of balance between financial powers and financial responsibility of production organizations.

He also stated that the government draft does not concern only state enterprises but also e.g. joint-stock companies orientated on foreign trade.

The transition to free convertibility of the Czechoslovak crown is a long-term process requiring gradual opening of the Czechoslovak economy to the world, its wider participation in the international division of labour and structural changes in favour of those branches which will be able to turn out products capable of competition on world markets, the minister said, adding that this requires above all increasing effectiveness of the Czechoslovak economy and thus also its foreign trade.

Besides these long-term tasks it will be necesary to ensure the implementation of short-term ones, e.g. the experimental testing of the management of the foreign currency market, creation of conditions for the introduction of a single exchange rate of the Czechoslovak crown by the beginning of the year 1992 at the latest, etc. The application of free convertibility of the crown naturally depends also on changes in foreign currency relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) states, the minister said.

Head of the Czechoslovak Government Presidium Office Press Department Miroslav Pavel and spokesman

for the foreign ministry Lubomir Marsik then answered questions concerning the illegal stay of GDR citizens at the West German Embassy in Prague, stressing that the Czechoslovak Government bases its stand on the fact that the task of diplomatic missions is not to provide asylum but to ensure bilateral relations, in this case between Czechoslovakia and West Germany.

If the West german authorities insist on providing asylum for the GDR citizens it will be an irresponsible activity that could harm not only the situation in Prague but also the development of relations between Czechoslovakia and West Germany. It would also be contrary to the Vienna Agreement on Diplomatic Relations signed in 1961.

Miroslav Pavel pointed out that the great concentration of people in Prague's lesser town in the past few days led to a tense situation which required the presence of members of security bodies. It was thanks to them that any bigger incidents were prevented. Their presence was also necessary due to the request of the U.S. Embassy for increased protection of the mission.

Asked whether the suspension of visa-free travel of GDR citizens to Czechoslovakia was the result of the pressure of the Czechoslovak side, Lubomir Marsik said that it was the result of mutual consultations.

### Jakes, Delegation Depart for GDR Celebrations

*LD0610102589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, flew to Berlin today with a Czechoslovak party and government delegation to take part in the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the GDR.

Members of the delegation are: Matej Lucan, first deputy federal premier, and Vasil Mohorita, chairman of the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee.

The delegation was seen off at Ruzyne Airport by CPCZ Central Committee Presidium members Jan Fojtik, Karel Hoffmann, Ivan Knotek, and Miroslav Stepan, and by other representatives.

A special plane left for Berlin shortly before 0900. Mikhail Gorbachev, the highest Soviet representative, also has flown in from Moscow.

### MSZMP Congress To View 'Disintegration'

*AU0510132389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Oct 89 p 6*

[Article by Vojtech Vesely, RUDE PRAVO correspondent in Budapest: "Prior to the Congress of Hungarian Communists; Not Only the Name Will Be Decided"]

[Text] The 1,276 delegates to the Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] who will conduct their top-level deliberations in Budapest on Friday [6 October] are facing very far-reaching decisions. These involve the effort not only to seek solutions to the country's economic and social problems, but, at the same time, to find out whether the party will be strong enough to halt the ideological, political, and organizational retreat before the onslaught of its adversaries, whether it will be able to avert the threat which is being increasingly discussed in Hungary—the threat of the MSZMP's disintegration into individual currents and groups.

Hungary is undergoing a profound social crisis and a process of radical change. Adversaries of socialism are speaking about its "failure," about the loss of the communists' historical justification to direct the country's destiny. They are denying all the results and achievements of the past 40 years, and asserting that socialism has led development into a blind alley. According to them, the way out is to return to the prerevolutionary state, according to some to the period of the coalition political system of the 1945-48 period, while according to others all the way to the times of the monarchy—in new form, of course. The intention is clear: to overturn the results of the socialist revolution and deprive the working people of political power. It is symptomatic that not one of the new or revived political parties programatically identifiesg itself with socialism; instead, they are pressing for the establishment of bourgeois democracy, claiming that this should be carried out "peacefully," but "radically."

The so-called reform circles within the ranks of the MSZMP also speak about the "crisis of socialism," but, at the same time, they are asserting that the system that existed in the past four decades had nothing in common with socialism. The first endeavor to correct it was, allegedly, suppressed in the 1953-56 period.

The document entitled Political Evaluation of the Lessons of Our Historical Road, which the MSZMP Central Committee submitted for discussion in August this year, describes socialism as modernization strategy which was deformed in Hungary by copying the Soviet "model."

A considerable part of the MSZMP members view the past in a more balanced manner. They see that the 15-20 years after 1956, despite their contradictions, have brought a development that is unprecedented in the modern history of Hungarian society: the population's consumption has increased three-fold, society's way of life and its structure have become more modern, and agricultural productiion has rapidly increased.

However, the party did not change the way it implemented its leading role and it also committed errors in its cadre policy. The aforementioned document states that in the middle of the 1980's the party leadership continued economic reforms, but without restructuring the

political system and innovating the forms and methods of its activity. This line led to a serious failure, the document says.

The party's statewide conference in May 1988 radically renewed the composition of the party leadership and gave an impetus to profound social changes which not long afterward led to the demand to revive the multiparty political system. Meanwhile, the information media took upon themselves the role of "catalyst" of change, and the criticism of outdated methods and style of work, of errors, and all unsatisfactory aspects of society's life in general, deteriorated to the point of the negation of the entire Hungarian model of socialism, to the denial of the values it created over 40 years, to the disparagement of the party and its ideology. This was clearly shown on 16 June this year, during the solemn act of paying tribute to the memory of Imre Nagy and his comrades, at which voices of unconcealed hatred resounded for the road which the Hungarian society had taken since 1945.

The bitter fact is that in Hungary nowadays views are being expressed which publicly reject socialism, and those who defend it become the target of unfastidious attacks. The removal of the symbols of socialism and internationalism has also begun. One new political party, openly registered as anticommunist, has high-handedly changed the name of F. Munnich Street in Budapest. One of the leading officials of the opposition FIDESZ [Association of Young Democrats] youth organization has called for "trampling Communists into the mud."

It is typical that the new and revived parties are now competing for power as its future exclusive holders, while the MSZMP is expecting to be defeated in the elections.

In this situation the MSZMP's attitude to the other political forces is correct. Not so long ago, its chairman Reszo Nyers said that the MSZMP was seeking partners to participate in both power and responsibility. And in its programmatic statement the party proposes establishing a democratic, law-governed state on the basis of a nationwide accord, strengthened by institutions of direct democracy, above all, by popular vote.

It further proposes a "balanced division of power among various organizations and power centers, prevention of too much concentration of power and the use of force in politics," as well as a system of several parties expressing the people's will and serving the people. It also expresses the need to put the socialist character of social order into the foreground of collectives' and individuals' free develoopmenmt.

Several currents and platforms, movements and associations, are currently asserting themselves within the MSZMP. However, a considerable part of the membership base remains unaffiliated with any platform and expects of the congress that it will restore the party's unity. However, it seems that instead of that a phenomenon quite to the contrary has been occurring—the dispersal of forces.

Intraparty quarrels, which weaken the MSZMP's ability to act, arise from ideological disunity, and this—according to local commentators and many party members—could lead at the party congress to a confrontatioin which could result in the party's disintegration into mutually competing "follow-up mini-parties." The antisocialist opposition would benefit from this most, of course.

One thing on which the party is unanimous is the agreement that the change of the model of socialism is inevitable, that means fundamental changes in the life of society and in the economic mechanism. There also is general agreement that the future Hungarian political system can be based only on a multiparty system, on a parliamentary representative system, and on the sovereignty of the people. The dividing line runs differently. It runs along the line behind which—under the notion of the creation of a new model of socialism—conditions are being prepared for the social system itself to be changed, for a change aimed at the return to capitalism. On this, too, the upcoming MSZMP should say a decisive word.

Drafts of important documents—of new statutes, of a programmatic statement, and the congress' standpoints on national reconciliation—will be submitted to the congress. Lately, at various precongrerss forums, literally a flood of recommendations has resounded on the first two items.

Although the draft of the new statutes provides an opportunity to choose a different name for the party, it lacks any reference to the principle of democratic centralism which determines the electability of the party bodies from below upward and the obligatory nature of the resolutions of higher bodies for subordinate ones. Only life will show what results the congress will yield and whether it will create conditions for sufficiently effectively ensuring the party's unity of action, which will be essential to have in the approaching sharp political fighting.

## Rakowski, Jakes Interviewed After 25 Sep Talks

*AU2709231289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Sep 89 p 7*

[Dalibor Macha report on replies by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, and Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to journalists' questions after their talks in Prague on 25 September: "Replies to Journalists"]

[Text] [RUDE PRAVO correspondent] The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] has expressed support for Premier Mazowiecki's government. This is a fact. In the Monday [25 September] issue of TRYBUNA LUDU I registered your words that "It is certain that we will not

go in the direction of the restoration of capitalism in the Polish People's Republic." Solidarity, however, wants to privatize the state sector and sell Polish industry to foreign capital. How are we supposed to understand all this, is there no contradiction here?

[Rakowski] To want is not the same as to be able. The forms of ownership in Poland must not be perceived as something that is unchangeable, given once and for all. There is a dynamism in them. However, in no case do we intend to accept a policy which would lead to a sell-out of state or national property. At present, I do not see forces in Poland that would agree to privatization. A great many words have been said recently; you should know that, in addition to monetary inflation, we also have an inflation of words. For instance, we can lease out a loss-making restaurant, but it is a different matter altogether to put a factory up for sale. We think that state enterprises can work well and make a profit—as a matter of fact, we have some excellent factories in Poland—and that there is therefore no need to sell them to private persons or anyone else. I would like to know who could possibly build up so much capital to afford a factory of his own. And I would also like to see the line of capitalists who have no other wish than to buy a Polish factory, to become involved in the Polish economy, to modernize, buy new equipment, and so forth. Show me a capitalist who would invest in a country that is still a long way from political stability. There are countries in the world with better conditions than Poland. We must therefore look at everything calmly and take account of the aforesaid inflation of words.

[RUDE PRAVO correspondent] Is Solidarity—that is, a force with which you are now in one government—still your political adversary?

[Rakowski] Yes; but adversary does not yet mean enemy. In my opinion, the PZPR must first and foremost consider the superior interests of the nation. If offers emerge from Solidarity's ranks that match the wishes and interests of Poles as we understand them, in harmony with our traditions dating back more than 100 years, then we will accept them and will cooperate with Solidarity on this foundation. Should Solidarity, on the other hand, submit to us a program that is at variance with what socialist Poland has achieved over the past 45 years—which some of its people consider to have been lost years—I will criticize it and an element of struggle will spring up, which will prevail over understanding. Personally, however, I favor the understanding of all tha level-headed forces that have the well-being of Poland close at heart.

[Czechoslovak Television] What sort of party will come to the forthcoming 11th party congress, which will take place earlier than originally scheduled, and what sort of party will emerge from it? Is it possible that it will be a social democratic party, as can also be heard?

[Rakowski] The reply to this question must be given by the party masses. An internal party discussion has just been launched and the party base will express its opinion as to what the party should be like. It would be premature to say anything right now. As to my private view, it must be a party which recognizes the existing reality and works out a realistic program. I wish that it be a party which will strive to regain its position in society. As to the question whether it should or should not be a social democratic party, I am very restrained in the formulation. One thing is certain, and I believe in it—that our party will remain loyal to its ideals, to the building of socialism.

Questions concerning the talks were also answered by Comrade Milos Jakes. He confirmed that, even after the appointment of a new government, relations between the CSSR and Poland will continue to develop on the same principles as hitherto. The main foundation of these relations is mutually beneficial cooperation. He described the talks as very useful. He said that both communist parties are interested in the development of mutual cooperation, which will also contribute to interstate cooperation between the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic. In other words, not only party matters will be involved, but also economic and scientific cooperation, and so forth. The Polish guest's visit took place in the spirit of mutual understanding; we can learn from each other, M. Jakes stressed. The point is to avoid mistakes and contribute to the further successful development of socialism, despite its temporary problems.

## Koruna Revalued Against Poland's Zloty

*AU0510183189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Oct 89 p 2*

[Text] Prague (CTK)—The Federal Ministry of Finance and the Czechoslovak State Bank inform us that the noncommercial rate of exchange of the koruna vis-a-vis the Polish zloty has improved from the previous rate of exchange of Z100 for Kcs2.2, to the new rate of Z100 for Kcs1.33.

This change went into effect on 2 October.

The Czechoslovak side demands further adjustment of the noncommercial rate of exchange of the koruna and the zloty in view of the continuing growth of retail prices in Poland.

## Johanes Continues Meetings at UN, Departs

### Sees Counterparts

*LD0210220589 Prague CTK in English 2025 GMT 2 Oct 89*

[Text] New York Oct 2 (CTK Correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes met here today with his Mozambican counterpart Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi who informed him of the latest developments in the south of Africa, the stands of the Front-Line states on South Africa's policy, and of the process of Mozambique's decolonization.

The Czechoslovak minister voiced full support for the effort of the Mozambican leadership aimed at a political settlement of the situation in the country. Both ministers confirmed their countries' interest in promoting their cooperation.

Jaromir Johanes also met today with Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila to discuss the situation in Southeast Asia and exchange views on the Paris conference on Cambodia and the possibility of its continuation. They stressed the significance of positive changes in international relations stating that they have a favourable impact on the course of the general debate at the current U.N. General Assembly.

The Czechoslovak official also held talks today with his Uruguayan counterpart Luis Berrios.

### Meets Malmierca, Manglapus

*LD3009014589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 29 Sep 89*

[Text] At the United Nations: Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes had a meeting today at the UN General Assembly with his Cuban opposite number Isidoro Malmierca. Both ministers agreed in stressing the irreplaceable role of the United Nations in building a world free of violence and nuclear weapons.

Jaromir Johanes also conferred with Philippines Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus. Both officials dealt with latest developments in Southeast Asia, particularly in the context of the completion of the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia.

### Talks With 'Aziz, Garba

*LD0410054889 Prague CTK in English 2130 GMT 3 Oct 89*

[Text] New York Oct 3 [CTK correspondent]—The Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes met here today with his Iraqi counterpart Tariq 'Aziz. They expressed satisfaction over the current stae of bilateral relations and voiced the conviction that their development is promoted by contacts on a high political level.

They appreciated the results of the Soviet-American discussions in Wyoming which have brought new stimuli for the deepening of the favourable development in international relations. Dealing with the Middle East situation, Jaromir Johanes called for the convocation of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations and stressed that the respect for the balance of interests and recognition of legitimate rights of all sides involved is the key towards a solution.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister met also with President of the 44th U.N. General Assembly Joseph Garba, representative of Nigeria. He expressed the conviction that under Garba's leadership the U.N. will continue to play a positive role in the creation of a favourable international atmosphere aimed at peaceful development of relations between states. The U.N. can also significantly contribute to the settlement of regional conflicts by political means, he stressed, and informed the Nigerian representative about Czechoslovakia's activities in international sphere and about the country's initiatives prepared for the 44th General Assembly session.

Joseph Garba stressed that he will strive above all for the solution of urgent problems of the present world.

### 'Exchanges Views' With De Cuellar

*LD0510002689 Prague CTK in English 1916 GMT 4 Oct 89*

[Text] New York Oct 4 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jarmir Johanes met here Tuesday with U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar. Exchanging views on the present situation in the world, they appreciated the contribution of the Soviet-American dialogue to the improvement of the overall international situation, especially East-West relations.

They stated that confidence among states has been strengthening gradually, and pointed out that the solution of such important questions like disarmament, development, environment, etc. requires joint efforts of all countries.

The Czechoslovak minister pointed to Czechoslovakia's contribution to further improvement of the international situation, mainly in Europe. He pointed to the initiative for creating a zone of confidence on the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states, the Czechoslovak premier's proposal for protection and creation of the environment in central Europe and Czechoslovakia's proposals prepared for the 44th U.N. General Assembly Session, and stressed their significance in this context.

Jaromir Johanes appreciated the increasing role of the United Nations and Javier Perez de Cuellar personally in removing hotbeds of tension. He called for the organization's peace activities especially in preventing potential disputes and conflicts. He assured the U.N. supreme representative of Czechoslovakia's readiness to continue to help this international organization in this sphere. The U.N. secretary general thanked the Czechoslovak minister for his country's support for these efforts and appreciated Czechoslovakia's activities in the U.N. He received with pleasure Jaromir Johanes's invitation to visit Czechoslovakia.

In a friendly meeting with his Ethiopian counterpart Berhanu Bayih, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes expressed satisfaction at the current state of Czechoslovak-Ethiopian cooperation.

The Ethiopian minister appreciated the level of bilateral relations and expressed agreement with Czechoslovakia's evaluation of the international situation, referring to the conclusions adopted in this context at the 9th Nonaligned Summit in Belgrade.

Foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia and Libya, Jaromir Johanes and Jadallah 'Azzuz al-Talhi stated the necessity of further promotion of bilateral contacts and cooperation, especially in economy. They underlined the significance of a political dialogue between the two countries and discussed potentialities of its further strengthening.

### Interviewed on UNGA Session

*LD0510105589 Prague CTK in English 1006 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] New York Oct 5 (CTK correspondent)—There is increasing awareness of the need to immediately look for solutions to urgent problems burdening not only countries and nations but mankind as a whole, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes said in an interview for CTK at the close of his stay here.

Reviewing the first two weeks of the U.N. General Assembly [UNGA] session, Minister Johanes said there is also increasing awareness that the positive trends in international relations must be used as effectively as possible to achieve further practical steps in the sphere of disarmament and settlement of regional conflicts but also in solving urgent questions in world economics, particularly as far as indebtedness is concerned. The minister stressed the necessity to intensify cooperation in environmental protection, in the struggle against terrorism and drug traffic, in the sphere of human rights and humanitarian cooperation.

The foreign minister stated that the generally constructive character of the initial stage of the session is a promise for its future work which is to focus on discussing ways of ensuring peace and security and, above all, on seeking concrete measures in the spirit of new political thinking. The concept of security based on the close link of military, political, economic, ecological and humanitarian aspects has been winning ever greater support, Jaromir Johanes said.

He added that it is quite natural that there are different views on numerous questions. This reflects the contradictory character of the present international relations in which much from the past survives.

He said Czechoslovakia presents at this year's session a draft resolution concerning ecology, which draws from Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec's proposal concerning environmental protection in Central Europe and from experiences in its gradual implementation. Czechoslovakia also contributed towards U.N. activities by proposals for international cooperation in the field of disarmament, ensuring rights of youth and by a joint Czechoslovak-British proposal to elaborate a convention to prevent the misuse of plastic explosive for terrorist purposes.

Characterizing his bilateral meetings here, Minister Johanes said they prove that changes in the present international relations create considerable possibilities for the activity of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy and open up scope to ensure more favourable external conditions for carrying out tasks of restructuring and democratization in Czechoslovakia. The talks confirmed that Czechoslovakia is received in the world as a reliable and promising partner, he added.

### Sees Session as 'Constructive'

*LD0510203189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] The 44th session of the UN General Assembly continues in New York. Jozef Knizat, our permanent correspondent in the United States, asked Jaromir Johanes, head of our delegation, and minister of foreign affairs, how he assesses the course of the session so far:

[Begin Johanes recording] Although the session has only begun, its course so far has shown some important facts. First, there is growing understanding of the fact that there is a need to begin immediately to look jointly for ways of tackling today's burning problems. The recent Soviet-U.S. talks in the United States brought new impulses—this was stated with satisfaction by an overwhelming majority of speakers. There was a strong demand for the United Nations to strengthen its activities aimed at preventing crisis situations, not restricting itself to efforts to help solve already existing conflicts.

The generally constructive and businesslike character of the opening stage of the 44th UN General Assembly session is, I would say, a hopeful promise for its further work. It is at the same time natural that there are different views on a number of questions—some relics of the past are still alive.

Our delegation was among those which, in the context of the 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II, pointed out the dangerous character of attempts to disrupt the postwar order in Europe. We stressed the need to strive jointly for deepening the favorable developments on our continent in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and in harmony with the philosophy of the new political thinking.

At this forum, we also informed the UN member states about our actions aimed at pushing through the proposal to create a zone of trust and cooperation and goodneighborly relations on the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, which was put forward by Comrade Jakes.

In the course of pushing through our resolution in the field of ecology, we also acquainted our partners with experiences gained in the process of gradually implementing the proposal of Premier Adamec concerning protection of the environment in Central Europe. [end recording]

### Departs U.S. for Venezuela

*LD0510222189 Prague CTK in English 1925 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] New York Oct 5 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes ended here today his visit to the USA, during which he attended the 44th U.N. General Assembly session, and left for Caracas to pay a two-day visit to Venezuela.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister told CTK correspondent that Latin America plays an important role in Czechoslovakia's foreign policy. The visit to Venezuela is a part of the Czechoslovak Government's effort at further strengthening of cooperation with this part of the developing world.

The minister stated that Venezuela is a significant Latin American country, the government of which pursues an active foreign policy. It plays a positive role in the effort at a political solution to the crisis in Central America.

Jaromir Johanes pointed out that both Czechoslovakia and Venezuela maintain identical or close attitudes towards global issues in international relations. Bilateral cooperation corresponds with the interests of both countries.

The Czechoslovak minister expressed hope that his visit and talks with Venezuelan representatives will contribute to activation of bilateral cooperation and demonstrate the significance Czechoslovakia ascribes to contacts with Latin American states.

Sixty years will have passed this year since Czechoslovakia and Venezuela established diplomatic relations, which are developed on the basis of the principle of mutual advantage and confidence, and cooperation of countries with different social systems.

Czechoslovakia supports Venezuela's constructive approach to the settlement of problems in Central and South America, as well as its joining of the movement of non-aligned countries where Venezuela was admitted as the 102nd country at the recent non-aligned summit in Belgrade.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Johanes's visit reciprocates the visit to Czechoslovakia by the Venezuelan Foreign Miniser in 1986. Venezuela was last visited by a Czechoslovak foreign minister in 1977.

The two countries conduct economic and scientific-technological cooperation under a trade agreement of 1986 and a technical agreement of last year. The volume of bilateral trade reached the value of 20 million U.S. dollars last year. Main Czechoslovak export commodities were machine tools, farming and knitting machines, malt and consumer goods. Czechoslovakia imports from Venezuela mainly iron ore and fish products. It is interested in taking part in Venezuela's industrialization through supplies of complete plants in the power industry and agriculture spheres. At present eight Czechoslovak experts work in geological research, the food industry and agriculture in Venezuela. An agreement is underway, providing for the Czechoslovak airlines company to operate flights to Caracas.

### Chemical Weapons Reduction Proposals Welcomed

*AU0510122389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Oct 89 p 7*

[Josef Nyvlt commentary: "Every Step Is A Good One; The Chemical Weapons Issue"]

[Excerpt] Since the 1960's talks have been held in Geneva on more radical disarmament measures involving chemical weapons and since January 1968 bilateral Soviet-American consultations on these weapons have also taken place here. At the end of September development in this issue was crystallized at the United Nations in parallel American and Soviet proposals.

President Bush's proposal envisages that the United States and the USSR will reduce, in the first stage, their chemical arsenals to 20 percent of current American stocks which, according to the available figures, would mean reducing stocks to 6,000 tonnes. This proposal establishes conditions for signing an international agreement and for continuing to gradually reduce stocks.

Eight years after the agreement has been signed 2 percent—that is 600 tonnes—should be left in American and Soviet stockpiles. According to the American mass media, members of the Administration think that prior to a complete and worldwide ban this is the amount—in the U.S.'s case, the amount of modern binary chemical weapons—necessary to ward off attacks from "a third country."

The reaction which this proposal caused among members of the Congress is remarkable. The Republican Cohen enthusiastically welcomed the proposal and said that this was a dramatic turnaround after the years when the Reagan administration rejected any kind of initiative. However, reservations are also cropping up along with the words of appreciation. It is not, after all, necessary to retain chemical weapons under the pretext of a possible attack from a third country; there are plenty of other defense methods or deterrents. Why did the President not say anything about the production of the most modern binary weapons which had been approved in 1982 and which gathered pace during the final years of the Reagan administration? In connection with this, last year Congress decided that 90 percent of the old stocks of chemical weapons should be destroyed before 1997. Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committee, unequivocally formulated his own opinion: "We would have gone this way in any case. Bush is making a virtue out of necessity."

Let us concede that this is a useful necessity and a necessary virtue. Shevardnadze's appeal to immediately halt any kind of production of chemical weapons and to quickly arrive together at the complete elimination of the existing stocks could be heard in the discussion among American politicians. Response to it is very favorable.

This is no attempt to try and trump the American card. Soviet readiness for such mutual collaboration had already been announced at the 14th U.N. General Assembly Session in 1959. The coupling of today's American and Soviet points of view was a hopeful move forward toward joint action. [passage omitted]

### Azerbaijani Blockage of Armenia Viewed

*AU0510132789*

[Editorial report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 4 October on page 5 carries a 1,100-word article by Vladimir Jancura, the paper's Moscow correspondent, entitled "How To Head Off the Worst; The Blockade of Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh 'Card'." The article describes the "dramatic situation" in Armenia (food and fuel shortage, "paralyzed construction" of housing for the victims of last year's earthquake), caused by the blockade of the Caucasian and Azerbaijan railroads. Jancura also discusses the background of this "latest escalation" in the Caucasus: "The Nagorno-Karabakh 'card' is brandished by the striking railroad workers as well as by the representatives—be they official or informal—of the two republics. The Armenian ones insist on the annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia, the Azerbaijanis regard this as an affront and respond with the blockage." In this connection Jancura reports on an article by V. Sidorov in the latest issue of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, "in which he called attention to the fact that the leading functionaries of the party and state bodies of Azerbaijan and Armenia, being under the sway of extremist forces from various people's fronts and similar associations, still refuse to accept any reasonable compromise." Jancura also quotes Sidorov as having warned against the threat of a "fratricidal civil war" and "our own Lebanon," unless Nagorno- Karabakh is subjected to central control.

### Husak Sends Congratulations to Yang Shangkun

*AU0510143689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Oct 89 p 1*

[CTK report: "Telegram to the PRC President"]

[Text] Prague—Gustav Husak, CSSR president, has sent Yang Shangkun, PRC president, the following congratulatory telegram on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and the People's Republic of China:

Dear Comrade,

On behalf of the Czechoslovak people and on my own behalf, please accept our most cordial as possible congratulations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and the People's Republic of China.

We are truly pleased that during the past 40 years relations between our socialist countries have recorded dynamic development in all spheres. Recently, in particular, we have witnessed a significant growth in comprehensive cooperation, which has moved our mutual relations forward into a qualitatively new stage. I am convinced that, in the spirit of our fine traditions, we will continue to strive for the further intensification of friendship and cooperation in the interest of the people of both countries, the development of socialism, and the furtherance of world peace.

I wish you many more successes in implementing, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the demanding tasks of the economic and social reforms.

### Egyptian Research Minister Received in Prague

*AU0510141989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Oct 89 p 2*

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Academician Karel Julis, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development, received 'Adil 'Abd al-Hamid Izz, minister of state for scientific research of the Arab Republic of Egypt, in Prague on Tuesday [3 October]. They discussed the opportunities for further developing bilaterally advantageous scientific-technical contacts and technical cooperation in basic and applied research. The Egyptian ambassador, Nabil 'Abd al-Fattah Hilmi, participated in the reception.

### More Privately-Held Hard Currency Accounts Held

*AU0510141089 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 2 Oct 89 p 2*

[Interview with Bretislav Bacak, director of the Administrative Center of the Czechoslovak State Bank, and Petr Minovsky, staff member of the Czechoslovak State Bank, by Engineer Drahoslav Zeman: "The Number of Czechoslovak Citizens' Foreign Currency Accounts Is Growing; Justifiably Differing Views"—place and date not given]

[Excerpt] There are sharply differing views on the foreign [hard] currency accounts which belong to Czechoslovak citizens. The largest group justifiably asserts that it is disadvantaged because it has no access to foreign exchange, that it cannot get it for its work and wages. The second group, also justifiably, points out that the acquired foreign currency, either obtained from sources abroad or at home, makes it at last possible, for them in particular, to travel abroad, and thus circumvent the less than joyous results of the tragicomic applications for foreign currency allocation and, also, to get hold of goods or services which the domestic market is incapable of providing.

We have asked Engineer Bretislav Bacak, director of the Administrative Center of the Czechoslovak State Bank [SBCS], and Petr Minovsky, staff member of the SBCS,

what the matter of foreign currency accounts looks like from the viewpoint of the bank.

[Question] How many foreign currency accounts are there in Czechoslovakia at present?

[Answer] In the middle of September, the total in all banks authorized to open such accounts—that is, the SBCS, the Zivnostenka Banka, and the Ceskoslovenska Obchodni Banka—there were about 73,000 of these accounts. For comparison: on 1 April 1988, when the first stage of the liberalization measures regarding the opening and operation of such accounts began, there were 7,000 of them. This year, on 1 May, when the second stage began, 36,000 accounts existed.

[Question] Of this, how big is the sum the banks could use?

[Answer] During the vacation season the average deposit on one foreign exchange account dropped from 30,000 to 19,000 foreign currency korunas. However, the overall number of the foreign currency accounts was steadily increasing and, despite the fluctuation in deposits and withdrawals, their total balance was also increasing. Currently, the balance is 1.4 billion foreign currency korunas. This sum, more or less, can presently be used by the national economy. Also, the need to take foreign currency credits is reduced by that sum. [passage omitted]

### Presidium Discusses Central Committee Preparations

*LD0510223889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Today's session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium discussed preparations for the 15th Party Central Committee session which will be convened 11-12 October. It discussed a draft report on party activities following the 14th Central Committee session and its tasks before the 18th congress, which will be delivered by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The Presidium assessed the amendments to the new draft party statutes on the basis of suggestions from regional and district party committees and discussed other documents linked to the deliberations of the 15th party Central Committee session.

The Presidium also discussed a draft of the principal guidelines of the social and economic development of Czechoslovakia for 1991- 1995 and prospects for the period up to 2005. The draft will set the principal tasks of society in securing the all-round development of our country and strengthening the social security of our citizens. The draft is among a number of program documents of the 18th party congress which will become the guidelines for party activities in the 1990's. After being worked out and discussed in the party Central Committee, the draft guidelines will be put forward for public discussion.

The Presidium also recommended that a program to strengthen the imbalance of the Czechoslovak economy is worked out and should be reflected in the plan for 1990 and in the preparations for the 9th 5-year plan.

The Presidium discussed a report on the course and results of a consultative meeting of Central Committees secretaries of communist and workers' parties of socialist countries in charge of international questions which took place in Varna 26-28 September.

It approved the course taken by the CPCZ delegation led by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee, during an exchange of views on the present situation in the world and on topical questions of the international activities of fraternal parties. It asked the appropriate party organs and institutions to secure consistent implementation of the conclusions adopted at the consultative meeting.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium also discussed organizational questions.

### Pitra Views 'Various Problems' in Economy

*AU0510104789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Oct 89 p 3*

[Interview with Frantisek Pitra, premier of the Czech Socialist Republic, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Igor Sirota: "Less Operational Interference, More Conceptual Work"—place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Sirota] How do you assess the gradual implementation of the objectives of comprehensive social restructuring?

[Pitra] [passage omitted] We still do not have an unequivocal answer to a number of questions which restructuring poses. Various problems are arising, and will arise, during its implementation. Already today practical life is correcting some of our notions, yielding new findings, and broadening our knowledge. It is obvious that all this has to be taken into consideration. Past experience shows that no difficulties we come across must sidetrack us from the adopted principles, or make us mark time and find half-baked solutions. We want our society to achieve a qualitatively higher standard while making full use of the achievements and potential of socialism. This would be impossible without restructuring. Restructuring is an open-ended program from which we must not budge, which must not be extenuated, but must be consistently implemented in accordance with the needs of society.

[Sirota] Is restructuring attractive for everyone?

[Pitra] We are convincing ourselves that it corresponds to the interests and needs of our citizens. But this also has another aspect—the intentions of restructuring can only be translated into life by making use of people's initiative, releasing their creative, literally entrepreurial, energy, through their joint effort. That is why we place

such stress on people's broad involvement in management, on the flow of information to the public, and on social dialogue. I am convinced that a great part of citizens want to become real managers of their worksites or their villages. [passage omitted]

[Sirota] What does all this involve?

[Pitra] It is necessary everywhere to overcome much more rapidly the psychology of the old type of management and the stereotypes of the past. This certainly will not be easy. People have been brought up under a certain system, and they have adopted a certain way of thinking. Today we want something quite different of them: not to wait for instructions from above, and not to become reconciled to mediocrity. [passage omitted]

[Sirota] The entry into the next 5-year plan as well as the conditions of the transition to the new economic mechanism depend to a great extent on this year's results. How do you assess developments to date?

[Pitra] The picture presented by this year's results is in many respects contradictory. Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, spoke with RUDE PRAVO in detail about this problem. An essentially identical assessment also aplies to the Czech economy and therefore I will not expand on this. Much honest work has been done, but serious negative tendencies persist and in some respects are even intensifying.

The smooth functioning of the economy is still being disturbed by considerable breakdowns in supplier-user relations. The Government of the CSR [Czech Socialist Republic] regards the situation in the sphere of construction and capital construction to be most unsatisfactory. We are still building slowly, expensively, and with substandard quality. A state of imbalance continues in a number of spheres of the economy. All this is the evidence of the fact that in the remaining months one has to do all one can to improve the fulfillment of the plan and responsibly prepare the plan for the next year. [passage omitted]

[Sirota] Let us switch to a more specific subject. For example, how effective is the new economic mechanism in services? It was applied there alreay last year.

[Pitra] Profit and quality have become important criteria for the results in services. We have expanded the independence and accountability of enterprises when it comes to employing wage rates and price-setting. Enterprises themselves have formulated their plans in accordance with the uniform normative rates established by the center. Those plans were substantially higher than the original plans. The results reveal that the new system motivates the desirable overfulfillment of the plan. This is the reason why last year profits rose by 16 percent and the deliveries to the domestic market by 4.4 percent. A similar trend continues this year. When applying the new mechanism we had 20 enterprises working at a loss. This year we expect that they will be operating in the black. [passage omitted]

However, what counts in services are not only the economic results but, above all, availability, quality, and choice. Here, too, positive developments have been achieved.

[Sirota] Does this mean that everything is in order in services?

[Pitra] Not by a long shot. Much still will have to be done to fully satisfy the needs of the citizens. The important thing is that things have begun palpably moving in this respect. This, among other things, is evidenced by the existence of small-scale operations run by the national committees in 1,887 CSR villages, employing more than 23,300 persons. Also, the number of citizens providing services with the permission of the national committees has risen to almost 41,000. Even today it is obvious that the support for small-scale entrepreneurship and the increased trust given to the enterprise sphere (on the basis of simple and stable rules) will benefit society greatly both in the form of economic effects and an increased satisfaction of the consumer as a result of the increased informal activity of citizens and work collectives. In the central organizations we must, above all, seek ways to eliminate the redistribution processes.

[Sirota] And what about restructuring in the agricultural and food complex. It was precisely here that considerable concern prevailed. What are its results?

[Pitra] Agriculture played and plays the role of a pioneer in the restructuring of the economic mechanism. [passage omitted] It is fulfilling its stabilizing role. To make it even more marked, one has to develop the entire agricultural and food complex smoothly and harmoniously. This is a sphere in which we are still not very successful. The prerequisites for the stablity of agricultural production are, in particular, the contingency reserves of fodder. The endeavor to create them is made considerably more complicated by the increasing meat consumption. [passage omitted]

[Sirota] In which respect, in your opinion, we should do more regarding the preparations for the transition to the new economic mechanism beginning next year?

[Pitra] The closer we come to 1 January 1990, the more that not only the enterprise sphere, but also we in center, are becoming aware of the difficulty and complexity of the critical stage of the transition. [passage omitted]

We must resolutely oppose the tendency to mark time and to rely on the center resolving all the problems of the enterprises for them. No one must expect or rely on subsidies or alleviations. Restructuring is fraught with considerable risks, which we must reduce to the minimum through a purposeful course of action. However, we must openly say to those who do not want to make a break with the past that not changing things, sticking to

the old administratively-directive management, would constitute an even bigger risk. This would genuinely imperil the further prospects of the socialist society. [passage omitted]

[Sirota] Fundamental structural changes are necessary. What do they consist of in the Czech economy?

[Pitra] What is essentially involved is to gradually change and modernize the economic structure of the CSR. Rid it of the disproportionate burden of the heavy industry branches, change its energy base, and enlarge the scope of the modern sectors of the manufacturing industry, in combination with the scientific-technical revolution. However, we must, above all, increase the scope of the services sector for the population and production. It is necessary to increase the openness of the Czech economy vis-a-vis the European and world economy; resume and develop relations which were—often unnecessarily—broken off in the past; make full use of their comparative advantages of geographical location, and the traditions of good education and culture; and catch the world trends of scientific-technical progress. We are convinced that the Czech economy has the necessary production and intellectual potential to fulfill those tasks successfully. [passage omitted]

[Sirota] Some practical steps of restructuring have already begun to be implemented. What spheres are, above all, involved?

[Pitra] The CSR economy is also directly affected by structural changes, such as, for example, the restriction of the uranium industry at present.

The beginning of desirable structural changes is the implementation of the programs for the modernization of selected sectors of the consumer industry. To realize it, one has allocated to the Ministry of Industry Kcs3.4 billion in freely convertible currencies for imports of machinery and equipment from the nonsocialist countries. A total of Kcs1.6 billion were allocated in the first 3 years of the 5-year plan, and for each—this and the coming year—Kcs0.9 billion have been allocated. In addition to this, in excess of the framework of this program, further Kcs330 million have been earmarked for imports of additional advanced technology. [passage omitted]

[Sirota] The improvement of the state of the population's health remains one of the most important tasks of social development. At the same time, it is precisely this sphere that is often the target of public criticism. Is this not caused by the fact that we do not spend enough on this sphere?

[Pitra] One of the main objectives of restructuring is to satisfy people's social needs, to stop treating them on the basis of the "leftover principle." All this also applies to care for the health of the population, where truly serious problems have emerged. However, one should not simply place an equal sign between expenditure on health care and the health of the population. The state of the population's health is affected by a number of influences—the standard of living and the working environment, the way of life and the quality of nutrition, physical exercise, and other factors. Smoking and alcohol abuse have a negative effect. Experts estimate that 80 percent of the population's health is influenced by all these factors. Therefore, it is necessary to strive to improve the state of health along all lines. Today our health services have at their disposal an extensive network of facilities in all districts and a large number of doctors and other medical staff. Understandably, the number of facilities or doctors alone do not guarantee a high standard of medical care.

[Sirota] Where, then, do the fundamental problems lie?

[Pitra] Despite the steadily increasing resources, the standard of medical care is unfavorably influenced by the prolonged shortcomings in providing the necessary amount and range of medicines, medical supplies, and medical and other equipment.

The pharmaceutical industry still has not reached the standard we need. Also, the way it is managed by the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs is not sufficiently efficient. The distribution, the control of the movement, and the use of medicines are of a low standard and techically completely backward. Pharmaceutical production suffers from inadequate supplies of raw and other materials. This is the concern of a number of branches responsible for supplies, mainly the Ministry of Industry. Moreover, the supply of medicines is influenced by the nonfulfillment of the long-term agreements and accords on deliveries of medicines on the part of some socialist countries.

We have justified reservations as regards the quality of our medical equipment and a variety of medical supplies and, often, also as regards the inadequate amount of these products. At the same time we must realize that the shortcomings in our production which I have mentioned always lead to one and the same thing—to the growth of demands for imports, to greater demands for foreign exchange.

We also are not happy about the distribution and application of expensive medical equipment. The idea that they must have everything everywhere only leads to its uneconomical utilization and, of course, to growing costs. We are currently trying to resolve and gradually rectify this situation.

[Sirota] I ask again: does this not depend on money after all?

[Pitra] Compared with the projections of the 5-year plan, we have been steadily increasing expenditure in the health sector. These expanded resources constitute the most dynamic item of the expenditure for the social consumption of the population. However, we all know that as a consequence of the rapid scientific-technical developments, it is precisely in the sphere of health that the greatest progress has been achieved. This progress is

accompanied by an immense explosion of costs, of course. This causes serious problems everywhere in the world. The prices of imported medical equipment are rising rapidly. A computerized body scanner, which we imported to the CSR 10 years ago for 10 million foreign currency korunas, today costs more than 30 million foreign currency korunas. A bed in a modern hospital which used to cost Kcs400,000 in the 1970's, costs more than Kcs1 million today.

[Sirota] How do you want to eliminate the greatest difficulties?

[Pitra] I say openly that it will not be a simple matter, that our efforts must be fully supported by all ministries, all branches of the national economy.

However, rather than employing general formulations, I prefer figures. More than Kcs260 million in excess of the CSR state plan have been allocated for the sphere of health this year. From the resources acquired by reducing the defense expenditure, we in the CSR have allocated an additional Kcs560 million for, mostly, the repair and maintenance of and equipment for medical facilities. In recent months the Federal Government has released further resources for the purchase of raw materials, medicines, and medical supplies. [passage omitted]

## 'Bolder' Promotion of Private Enterprise Urged

*AU0610093089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Oct 89 p 1*

[Editorial: "More Boldly in Services"]

[Excerpts] Services. Their standard, availability, and quality are one of the criteria, according to which citizens evaluate the work of national committees. They rightly criticize the lingering shortcomings in this sphere. It is known that more than 50 percent of people do not arrange for services through organizations or individuals authorized to provide them. This finding from surveys of public opinion, together with citizens' comments, has encouraged the search for new ways of developing services.

The restructuring in the activity of national committees gives them the opportunity to choose in the relevant locality the most suitable form of providing services. [passage omitted] The new rules of the economic mechanism for state enterprises of local production and services with a small number of employees, which the CSSR Government approved on 8 June 1989, provide good prerequisites for that. The new rules, which apply to enterprises with fewer than 100 employees and, exceptionally, to enterprises with fewer than 200 employees, limit, for example, administrative requirements by 70 percent. In planning, the enterprise must submit to its founder a single form, instead of 20. The systems of accounting, bookkeeping, and so forth have also been simplified. The aim is to reduce paperwork and have more people and time for the execution of work. [passage omitted]

Enterprises of local production and services and service outlets run by national committees have a total of 400,000 employees. This is a formidable number. Their results still fall short of the needs, however. Their managements, but also functionaries of national committees, are required today to display a more enterprising spirit and to show the courage to explore even unconventional paths.

For example, the fear persists of leasing out outlets to citizens, although this form, just as services provided by citizens on the basis of an authorization from the national committee, is often faster, more easily accessible to citizens, and more efficient.

The decree of the Government of the Czech Socialist Republic No. 1 of 1988, and the analogous decree of the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic, has given a major boost to the growth in the number of permits to engage in individual activity. Since 1982, the number of such permits has more than trebled. In the Czech Socialist Republic, for example, national committees have issued more than 40,000 such permits. Most of them concern made-to-order production and repairs of textile products. [passage omitted] Citizens also secure repairs and maintenance of products of the metalworking, engineering, and electrical engineering industries. Another sizable group is represented by holders of permits for construction, geological, and design activity. Bricklayers, heating mechanics, and plumbers, in particular, are in short supply and, in view of the measures that have been taken in support of the construction of family homes, demand for such jobs will increase further. The present tax scale, however, does not stimulate the interest of private persons in a higher volume of output. This fact is conducive to the development of moonlighting, together with the circumstance that national committees only rarely take any measures against it. Two years ago, citizens working on the basis of the national committee's authorization carried out work valued at approximately Kcs300 million. Moonlighters, on the other hand, provided jobs and services valued at up to Kcs7 billion. One must not close one's eyes to this fact but must tackle this state of affairs at the level of central state bodies and national committees, by means of an effective system of taxation and control. [passage omitted]

## New Hussite Church Bishop Installed

*AU0410200989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Oct 89 p 2*

[CTK report: "The Bishop of Prague Is Installed"]

[Text] Rene Hradsky was ordained and installed as the bishop of Prague by Dr. Miroslav Novak, patriarch of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church, in St. Nicholas Cathedral on the Old Town Square in Prague on Saturday [30 September].

In his sermon Dr. Miroslav Novak stressed, among other things, that with the ordination of the bishop of Prague all five dioceses of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church have been filled with elected bishops and that this is a

prerequisite for the successful preparation of the Seventh Czechoslovak Hussite Church Assembly, which will take place in 1991.

Representatives from the Czech Socialist Republic Ministry of Culture and other state organs were present at the ceremonial event.

### Defense Minister Describes Army's Tasks

*LD0410220489 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 4 Oct 89*

[Text] [Unidentified presenter] Army General Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense, is my guest in the studio. The 45th anniversary of the Carpathian-Dukla operation, the Czechoslovak People's Army day, is coming close. Comrade minister, can I ask you several questions? How would you define the role of our People's Army today at a time of changes in international relations?

[Vaclavik in Slovak] The role of our army is defined forever as securing the defense of the country. A certain specific position and tasks for our army follow from the fact that it is an army in the first line of defense of the Warsaw Pact troops, at the contact point with NATO and the strongest groups of its forces. Therefore, it must be prepared in every way and its level of combat readiness must be high.

Positive changes in international relations increase the possibility of securing a state's defense ability by political means. Consequently, the planned spending on armaments has been cut and we are dealing with the construction of the army on the principle of: Toward higher efficiency and better husbandry.

The Czechoslovak People's Army plays an active role in the reinforcement of relations of confidence between the states of our continent. It thoroughly fulfills all obligations which follow from [words indistinct]. As long as the danger of war and of jeopardy to our country is here we must care for defense sufficiency. From this proceeds the categorical demand that our army must be a firm part of the military orientation of the Warsaw Pact, that it does not lag behing modern armies in the weapons and training standard of its troops, and that its members' political thinking meets the standard of the demands of the current complicated times.

[Presenter] Comrade minister, what about the internal life of the army? Restructuring and democratization is taking place in society. This naturally concerns the army, too.

[Vaclavik] The members of the army fully support the party's policy and fully identify themselves with the tasks of restructuring. We see as the most important thing to improve the quality of all areas and of every activity. We concentrate on care for all members of the army, securing their material and spiritual needs.

The majority of military units, military institutions, and economic organizations achieved positive results in the last training year. We are, however, aware also of shortcomings which accompany life and work in the army. I would like to assure our general public that we analyze them responsibly and deal with them thoroughly. The growth of demands is, however, not without problems. It is necessary to fight against obsolete practices and also against the influence of hostile propaganda in particular on young people. Therefore, restructuring in the army represents a unity of dealing with program, organizational, and educational tasks in which party, trade union, and Socialist Youth Union organizations are taking an active part.

[Presenter] If I am to be sincere, the public often links restructuring with reorganization of the army. What are the results in this sphere?

[Vaclavik] Measures aimed at underlining the defense character of the army and the cut in the number of men and weapons in our army are carried out exactly according to the adopted schedule. We have already removed a number of tank divisions from the state of combat readiness and we have disbanded one air unit. The armament is slowly being sent to military repair plants to be destroyed, or to be used in the national economy. In addition, we have created this year the organizational conditions for setting up building organizations which will start their activity in full in 1991. I would like to point out that the process of organizational changes will continue. It means that the army will enforce greater efficiency in setting up and training its troops in the spirit of the principles of defense doctrine.

[Presenter] What is the importance of the Dukla tradition in the current conditions?

[Vaclavik] The Czechsolovak People's Army will celebrate its day together with our peoples whose sons and daughters have put on army uniform to become ready for the defense of their homeland. The Dukla tradition obliges us all to protect the freedom and peace of our nations. The personnel of our army enter the new training year with this awareness. They will prove this also at the military parades and by their showing at the Czechoslovak Spartakiade. I would like on this occasion to thank all who cooperate with us and who help the army in its honest and responsible role.

### Army Marks World War II Operation

*LD0410221189 Prague CTK in English 2006 GMT 4 Oct 89*

[Text] Prague Oct 4 (CTK)—The present military-political situation requires high political vigilance from army members. Although confidence is being gradually built in international relations, the NATO countries have not changed their military doctrine, said an order issued by Czechoslovak Defence Minister Army Genera! Milan Vaclavik on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Carpathians-Dukla operation and the Day of the Czechoslovak Army (October 6) today.

The Czechoslovak Army day marks the day when soldiers of the First Czechoslovak Army Corps in the

USSR, who fought alongside the Soviet Army in the Carpathians-Dukla operation, entered the territory of their homeland.

The order went on to say that NATO countries continue pursuing a policy from the positions of strength and the strategy of nuclear deterrence.

The efforts to improve all kinds of weapons cannot ensure stability and security and remain a threat to socialism and mankind as a whole, the order said, and stressed the need for doing everything to make the Czechoslovak Army capable, together with the armies of other Warsaw Treaty countries, of defending the socialist achievements.

## Figures for Theology Students Cited

*AU0510120589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Oct 89 p 2*

[Bohumil Prachensky reply to readers' questions: "Apropos Theological Studies"]

[Excerpts] Reader J.R. from Chlumec nad Cidlinou and B.N. from Znojmo ıve asked why the state makes things difficult for those wishing to study at theological faculties, in particular, at the Roman Catholic Cyril and Methodius School of Divinity in Litomerice. They have heard several times on radio stations broadcasting from abroad in our language that only a few people may be admitted and that there exists a so-called numerus clausus which strictly lays down the number of those who may be admitted....

What was the situation during this year's admission procedure? For the academic year 1989-90, 88 applicants, which is the same number as for the previous year, submitted applications to the Litomerice Faculty. The number of applicants does not correspond to the realistic needs of the Roman Catholic Church in the Czech Socialist Republic. At present, the Roman Catholic Church is about 1,500 priests short of the number it needs. Thirty-eight people applied for entry in the South Moravia region, 17 in North Moravia, 12 in East Bohemia, 8 in Prague, 4 in South Bohemia, 3 in Central Bohemia, and 2 in West Bohemia. Eighty-three out of the 88 applicants invited attended the admission interviews. Five did not show up at the interview. Seventy-three people were accepted by the admission commission. Ten were refused because they did not meet the requirements—a clean criminal record, a good state of health, the necessary standard of education, and so on. Nine of the rejected applicants appealed. At the appeal procedure, after carrying out a review, the admission commission decided to accept one more candidate. Seventy-four students will commence studies at the Litomerice Faculty which is 89.5 percent of those who participated in the entrance examinations. [passage omitted]

The numerus clausus does not exist at the theological faculties. It does not even exist at the Litomerice Faculty. It depends only on the churches—including the Roman Catholic Church—how many secondary school leavers will be prepared for graduation from theological studies.

## Celebration of 40th Anniversary Begins

### Honecker, Others Honor Pioneers

*LD0610015389 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR's founding, leading representatives from the party and the working class, and from friendly parties of the socialist state laid wreaths this morning in Berlin. Erich Honecker, Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee general secretary, Council of Ministers Chairman Willi Stoph and People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann remembered, together with others, the pioneers of peace and socialism and the heroes of the anti-fascist resistance struggle.

Together with veterans of the workers' movement they spent some time in the Unter den Linden memorial, in the Socialists' memorial in Friedrichsfelde, in the Treptow Memorial for the Fallen Soviet Heroes and in the memorial of the Polish Soldier and of the German anti-fascist in the Friedrichshain People's Park.

At the moment meritorious persons and works collectives from all areas of social life in the GDR are receiving the highest state honors for exemplary achievements. Willi Stoph presented the Karl Marx order, the "Great Star of International Friendship" the honorary titles "Outstanding Scientist" and "Hero of Labor" and the GDR National Prize.

More guests arrived in Berlin to participate in the festivities of the 40th anniversary of the GDR. For the People's Republic of Angola came a delegation under the leadership of Lopo do Nascimento, a member of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], the workers party, Central Committee. A delegation from the People's Republic of the Congo and 'Ali Khavari, secretary general of Iran's Tudeh Party Central Committee also arrived today.

### Gorbachev Arrives

*LD0610110489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1035 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, arrived in Berlin this morning to take part in the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the GDR. He was cordially welcomed at Berlin's Schoenefeld Airport by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State.

Earlier, President Wojciech Jaruzelski; Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee; and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski arrived from the People's Republic of Poland. A delegation also arrived from CSSR, led by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the National Front Central Committee.

A delegation arrived from the Socialist Republic of Romania [SRR], led by Nicolae Ceaucescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the SRR. The delegation from the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which also arrived today, is led by Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State.

These guests also were welcomed by Erich Honecker and other personages.

### Crowds Greet Honecker, Gorbachev

*LD0610132889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1201 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, arrived in Berlin on Friday to take part in the celebrations on the 40th anniversary of the GDR. At Berlin-Schoenefeld airport the Soviet guest was warmly greeted by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR Council of State. Both general secretaries embraced fraternally and expressed their pleasure at seeing each other again.

Erich Honecker then, together with Margot Honecker, greeted Raisa Gorbacheva and other public figures in the entourage. Then the guests were welcomed by members and candidate members of the Politburo and other leading public figures of the republic.

Many thousands of citizens had formed a dense row for the arrival. From their midst rang out cheers for Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev, "Druzhba - Friendship" shouted the women, men, and youngsters, to whom Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev turned. "Your anniversary is our holiday," Mikhail Gorbachev shouted to the citizens, shook innumerable hands, and signed autographs. At another point along the row of people he affirmed: "This is our joint holiday." And Erich Honecker added: "It will remain so forever!"

Then Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev commenced the journey to the Schloss Niederschoenbausen residence. En route the Berliners gave an extremely warm reception to Mikhail Gorbachev, who sat in the car with Erich Honecker. Lining up along the 30-km route, tens of thousands of Berliners affirmed the fraternal relations between the SED and the CPSU and the close friendship and cooperation between both states. The two leading personalities were greeted everywhere with great applause.

### Gorbachev Gets 'Enthusiastic Reception'

*LD0610133389 East Berlin ADN International Service in Russian 1231 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The people's mood is very good. It is their day of celebration, a great day of celebration, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, said after an enthusiastic welcome in the streets of Berlin on arrival at the Schloss Niederschoenhausen residence. Comrade Erich Honecker told us, Gorbachev added, that Western radio stations have called on Berliners to rise up. It was a real uprising, a genuine uprising. Young and old are standing there, Raisa Gorbacheva added. Erich Honecker added that everyone is represented. During a welcoming drink he once again bade Mikhail Gorbachev a warm welcome to the GDR.

### Gorbachev Pays Respects

*LD0610150689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1432 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In Berlin today, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, honored the victims of fascism and militarism at the Unter den Linden memorial, as well as the fallen Soviet heroes at the memorial in Treptow by laying wreaths. The Soviet guest was accompanied by Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee.

Mikhail Gorbachev and the personalities accompanying him, including Raisa Gorbachev, were welcomed in front of the Unter den Linden memorial by Lieutenant General Karl-Heinz Drews, the Berlin city commandant. The state flags of the GDR and the USSR were hoisted on both sides of the Neue Wache. The personalities walked into the inner chamber to the sounds of a funeral march. After the wreath of red carnations had been laid, they paused for a minute's silence in front of the Eternal Flame and bowed at the bronze commemorative stone for the Unknown Resistance Fighter and the Unknown Soldier.

The ribbon around the wreath carries the words "To the victims of Fascism and militarism—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet." Soldiers from the People's Army "Friedrich Engels" guards regiment kept a guard of honor in front of the memorial.

### More Delegations Arrive

*LD0610134989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1205 GMT 6 Oct 89*

["Arrivals in East Berlin for 40th Anniversary Festivities"—ADN headline]

[Excerpt] Berlin, ADN—[passage omitted]

Delegations from the PDRY, headed by 'Ali Salim al-Bid, secretary general of the Yemen Socialist Party Central Committee, and from the Republic of Nicaragua led by Daniel Ortega Saavedra, coordinator of the Executive Commission of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and President of the Republic, were welcomed.

Further guests who were warmly welcomed this morning were from the Hungarian People's Republic—a delegation headed by Professor Bruno Ferenc Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, and a delegation from the state of Palestine, headed by President Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

Yesterday a delegation arrived in the GDR capital led by Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural.

High-ranking military officials from the Soviet and Polish naval forces were received today by GDR Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler. To Admiral Vitaliy Ivanov, commander of the USSR Baltic Fleet, and Rear Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk, commander in chief of the Polish Navy, Kessler acknowledged the fraternal relations between the GDR, the USSR, and the People's Republic of Poland as well as the cooperation between their armed forces in the interests of the joint protection of the peaceful work of construction.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR, the SED Central Committee, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, and the National Council of the National Front have sent invitations to a festive function this afternoon in the Berlin Palace of the republic. Erich Honecker will give the festive address, Mikhail Gorbachev will give a greetings address. A torch-lit procession by the Free German Youth will begin this evening at the historical site Unter den Linden in the center of Berlin, where in 1949 youth envoys greeted the president of the newly founded German state of workers and peasants, Wilhelm Pieck.

### Paper Says Gorbachev To Propose Changes

*AU0610081889 Hamburg BILD in German 6 Oct 89 pp 1,4*

[Unattributed report: "Bloody Battle in Dresden—All Eight Trains Have Arrived—What Gorbachev Will Tell Honecker Today"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—[Passage omitted] For those GDR citizens staying behind, Kremlin leader Gorbachev has drafted a program that is supposed to improve their situation. He is coming to East Berlin today with a three-stage plan which he will expound to Honecker in a private talk.

**"Relax Censorship"**

—The four block parties—the Christian Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, the Peasants Party, and the National Democratic Party of

Germany—should be given greater independence from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

—Press censorship should be relaxed, and more freedom of opinion should be permitted.

—The pressure to leave the country should be alleviated by better travel regulations.

According to information obtained by BILD, Gorbachev's plan has been coordinated with the most important communist party leaders from other East bloc countries. The chief of the Kremlin and the other chiefs of state want to help the GDR leadership hold out the weeks following the GDR's 40th anniversary without loss of face.

### GDR Restricts Visitor Travel to East Berlin

*LD0510140189 Hamburg DPA in German 1318 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] Berlin (DPA)—GDR authorities today drastically restricted visitors' travel to East Berlin at the beginning of official ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of the state founding. [passage omitted]

The [West] Berlin Senate views this development, in the words of its spokesman, "with great concern." The action of the GDR authorities contradicts agreements as well as the principle of free movement in the city. The GDR should return to normal practice without delay. The Senate is in permanent contact with the federal government and the Allies.

### Berlin Crossing Point 'Sealed'

*LD0610113889 Hamburg DPA in German 1108 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The crossing point into East Berlin most used by West Germans and West Berliners, Friedrichstrasse station in the center of the city, has apparently been "sealed" as of today. According to the Interior Administration, only GDR citizens and individual travellers on business are being let through by the GDR's border authorities.

Since yesterday, around 500 people have been turned back at five of the seven crossing points in Berlin as well as at Checkpoint Charlie, which is open to foreigners. Interior Administration spokesman Werner Thronicker said in response to a reporter's question. According to his estimates, however, many of those turned back had not registered with the West Berlin authorities. Double registration is also possible.

The GDR authorities' criteria for allowing entry are still unclear. Most of those not admitted, however, are young people who East Berlin assumes might take part in opposition activities during the GDR anniversary celebrations.

The Allies, the FRG government, and the Berlin Senate have strongly protested against this restriction on visits. The hope was expressed "that the Soviet Embassy will take the necessary measures to correct this state of affairs." Soviet state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in East Berlin this morning for a 2-day visit.

### 'Many' Injured in Dresden Violence

*LD0510205889 Hamburg DPA in German 2008 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Against the background of the latest demonstrations and in some cases violent clashes in the GDR, there have been appeals for nonviolence at a service of intercession in East Berlin this evening.

In Gethsemane Church, details of the latest mass demonstration in Leipzig were given to the over 1,500 visitors, including many foreign television teams. Church groups estimate that 150 people suffered injuries [in the demonstrations] on Monday. The police took away about 80 people and 18 are assumed still to be in custody.

The GDR press has so far given no figures on the demonstration, in which over 10,000 people took part.

The incidents and clashes in Dresden's main train station were also mentioned. It was reported on the sidelines of the event that the station building shows signs of considerable damage. Many people were reported to have been injured, some of them seriously.

There has been a vigil at Gethsamane Church since the beginning of the week for the 30 or so mainly young people who have been in custody, some of them since June, in connection with protests against conditions in the GDR and China. Dozens of candles were burning in front of the church this evening. Two large banners spell out the aim of the vigil.

During the service of intercession there were repeated calls for social reforms. One pastor said that on the 40th anniversary of the GDR's founding there is actually no reason for any big celebration. he said: "I think it would be nice if the old gentlemen were by themselves." In the service of intercession a woman said: "I beseech God that we will achieve changes without violence."

### Man Dies in Clashes

*LD0610102189 Hamburg DPA in German 0954 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—A young man was killed in the serious clashes in Dresden during the night from Tuesday to Wednesday, according to the Berlin radio station 100.6. Another man, who lay down on the railway track with others wishing to emigrate, was run over by a train. Both his legs were severed, the station said on Friday with reference to its Dresden correspondent.

Eyewitnesses are agreed in reporting that Army units also were deployed to break up the crowd of more than

10,000 people. Soviet soldiers were poised behind the railway station and in neighboring streets, but they did not actively intervene. The demonstrators responded to the use of batons by throwing stones and by setting fire to police vehicles.

### Renewed 'Incidents' in Dresden

*LD0610105889 Hamburg DPA in German 1032 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—There were renewed demonstrations and incidents at the main Dresden railway station on Thursday evening, which were not, however, as extensive as on the previous evening, according to eyewitness reports. Security forces then drove off a crowd that had gathered in front of the station building. Stone-throwing again was observed.

The Dresden paper UNION reported on Friday on upcoming court proceedings and on damage to buildings and areas without giving details or figures, saying it had been a case of "hooligan" excesses.

### ADN Denies Report of Death

*LD0610130989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1251 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The FRG news agency DPA is saying, with reference to a West Berlin radio station, that a young man died in Dresden during hooligan excesses. ADN states that this report is a complete fabrication.

### Reform Groups, Church Leaders Appeal for Calm

*LD0510163489 Hamburg DPA in German 1527 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] East Berlin/Dresden (DPA)—The GDR is taking all precautions to prevent any disruption of its jubilee celebrations on the 40th anniversary of its foundation and to silence opposition voices. Thus tourist traffic to East Berlin has been drastically restricted and many West Germans have been turned back at the crossing points in Berlin to the eastern part of the city. Representatives of GDR opposition groups have been warned by state officials against demonstrations during the celebrations. [passage omitted]

The warning to opposition groups by GDR officials was combined with the advice that socialism should not be allowed to be questioned. [passage omitted] The co-founder of the "New Forum," Baerbel Bohley, told ZDF [second German television] concerning the situation in the GDR: "You have the feeling it only needs a spark to start something here." Representatives of non-state reform groups and churchmen have again called for calm in the country and have spoken out against any use of force. [passage omitted]

Several GDR families who tried in vain to reach Prague by train on Tuesday and Wednesday have meanwhile sought refuge in two Dresden churches. It is said these 100 or so people have been assured immediate emigration by the authorities. These families and their children had to leave the train at the border station of Bad Schandau on the journey to Prague and return to Dresden.

### Honecker Proclaims Health 'Excellent'

*LD0610123589 Hamburg DPA in German 1208 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—GDR state and party leader Erich Honecker feels "excellent" at present following his gall bladder operation and his stay in hospital. Before the arrival of Mikhail Gorbachev the 77-year old was asked by journalists: How do you feel? Honecker: "Excellent. Those pronounced dead live longer."

What does he think of the refugee problem? Honecker: "Is there a refugee problem?" Top Socialist United Party of Germany [SED] members applauded this answer. SED Politburo member Egon Krenz also clapped, journalists observed.

What does he say to the incidents in Leipzig and Dresden, Honecker was then asked. He answered that everything is in the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND.

### Citizens in Warsaw FRG Embassy To Be Expelled

*LD0510182289 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] The GDR government decided today to expel the people from the GDR who are illegally staying in the FRG's embassy in Warsaw. These people will be expelled to the FRG via GDR territory.

### Police End Obstruction of U.S. Embassy

*LD0510164989 Hamburg DPA in German 1545 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—The small group of GDR citizens who have been inside Bonn's Permanent Mission in East Berlin for some days has now left the building. This was confirmed today in East Berlin. There were said to be at least four people seeking refuge who will now apparently be able to leave for the West soon. The exact number of refugees at the mission was not given by officials in Bonn. The Federal German mission in the Hannoversche Strasse will remain closed until further notice.

#### More People Temporarily Detained Near the U.S. Embassy

Yesterday evening 18 GDR citizens left the U.S. Embassy East Berlin. [passage omitted] It was observed today that at least three people, including a mother with a child, were taken away by police near the U.S. Embassy. The temporary measures sealing off the building were ended yesterday evening. However, today the People's Police continued to watch the embassy in force. [passage omitted]

### Bertele Protests Restrictions at GDR Ministry

The head of the Federal Republic's permanent mission, Franz Bertele, formally protested this afternoon at the GDR Ministry [as received] the hinderances to tourist and visitor traffic. On behalf of the Federal Government he demanded that East Berlin return to normal conditions at the crossing points. Ambassador Karl Seidel, head of department at the GDR Foreign Ministry, rejected the protest according to the mission as these measures were a soverign decision by the GDR.

### PRAVDA Quoted on Refugee Issue

*AU0610101189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Oct 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "PRAVDA: Who Really Complicates Relations"]

[Text] Moscow—During the past few weeks, the FRG embassies in Prague and Warsaw have adopted a course that has nothing to do with the usual diplomatic activities, PRAVDA stated on Tuesday [3 October] under the headline "Who Really Complicates Relations." The mission granted shelter to GDR citizens who wanted to emigrate to the FRG without the required documents. The paper points out: The situation has not come about through the fault of the GDR. Bonn alone is responsible. The GDR has agreed to a humanitarian solution, PRAVDA reports. The spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry expressed the hope in this connection that the FRG will take measures that ensure normal activities at their embassies in line with international practice.

What happened in the past few days has again shown what serious complications in international relations between the two German states result because of Bonn's adherence to the thesis of the "duty to care for all Germans," which is founded on the illusionary claim of the existence of the "German Reich within the boundaries of 1937," the PRAVDA commentary stresses. The FRG has been waging a noisy propaganda campaign in connection with the "refugees" from the GDR, characterized by the spirit of chauvinism and nationalism. FRG politicians are openly trying to interfere in the internal affairs of the sovereign GDR. All this leads to a considerable strain in relations between the two German states. The behavior of the FRG is marked by extreme shortsightedness. By questioning everything positive that has been achieved in relations between the two German states through great efforts, it launches an attack on stability in central Europe that is necessary for all peoples.

The paper draws the following conclusion: It is quite obvious that it is not without reason that the large-scale provocative campaign against the GDR coincides with the 40th anniversary of the socialist German state. However, no matter how the opponents of the GDR may try, they will not succeed in calumniating the historic achievements of the working people of the GDR and in reducing the significance of their anniversary.

### Artists Question Leaders' Stand on Refugees

*LD0510133189 Hamburg DPA in German 1237 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—One-hundred-and-eighty members of the East Berlin Association of Graphic Artists have adopted a resolution expressing their deep unease "at the present crisis situation in our society, the most visible symptom of which is the continuing mass escape of GDR citizens." They demand a public discussion of the causes. The text, published today in the West Berlin "Tageszeitung" (TAZ), says further: "Instead of recognizing this situation in all its seriousness and looking for causes and ways to solve it, the state leadership denies the realities, and attempts to force its attitude onto the public awareness by means of the mass media."

This "dispelling of reality" has "led to a paralysis or a rapid decay in social life—a situation which seriously endangers the existence of socialist society." The artists demand public discussion of the problems and the "incorporation of all forces, including those who are prevented from cooperative action by means of the present undemocratic structure, and who are even denounced and criminalized as enemies of the state."

### Stoph Rejects FRG 'Caring Duty' for Citizens

*LD0510171489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1519 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—There are many reasons to be proud of what has been jointly created and to meet the challenges of the future with optimism and self-confidence, stated GDR Prime Minister Willi Stoph today in Berlin at a festive event honoring meritorious working people on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR with high state awards.

The diligent labor over 4 decades, in particular the tasks assumed since the Eighth Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Congress toward the course of a united economic and social policy, has borne rich fruit for the citizens, the politician said. "This does not satisfy us or allow us to overlook what still remains to be done on a small- and large-scale."

Much creative work is still required, above all an even more rapid growth rate in labor productivity on the basis of modern science and technology in order to further raise the economic performance of our economy. At the same time, it is important to react to emerging conditions and problems in a principled and flexible manner. "We set ourselves fresh challenges," said Willi Stoph, "in continuing the unity and renewal which has always characterized our path."

The GDR premier stressed in particular the responsible work "which innumerable male and female citizens carry out in shaping a joint democratic socialist society." Socialist democracy was and remains a decisive element of the GDR's strength.

"Our nation of workers and peasants certainly does not need any extra tuition in human rights and socialist democracy. We certainly do not need it from those forces who, from the first hour of our republic, 40 years ago, until the present day, have left nothing untried in hindering the GDR people on their peaceful path, in harming the socialist German peaceful state and forcing it to its knees," said the SED Politburo member. As a home of anti-fascism and humanism on German soil, as a steadfast champion of peaceful coexistence and decisive disarmament steps, as a cornerstone of peace and socialism in Europe, the GDR has always been a thorn in the eye of those forces who have never given up their revanchist dreams. "On this we had, and have, no illusions."

Willi Stoph pointed out that there are now treaties under international law, such as the treaty on the foundation of GDR-FRG relations, and there is a European system of treaties whose principles and norms were introduced in the Helsinki Final Act. It must give every sensible person cause for thought when official Bonn disregards basic stipulations in these documents and thus calls into question the stability in Europe. "We cannot warn too strongly against the dangerous path which has been embarked on. We strongly reject the FRG's laying claim to a so-called caring duty for GDR citizens. Socialism in the GDR is no more an issue to be debated than the borders which came out in Europe as a result of World War II."

According to the GDR premier, in the face of the dangers of the arms race and other global problems disarmament, understanding, and cooperation are in our times more urgent than ever before for the survival of mankind. "True to its historical peace mission, the GDR has done much to promote the detente and disarmament process. We will continue this course unwaveringly. Side by side with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states we will continue to speak for a secure peace and will undertake everything to make the detente process irreversible."

Under the leadership of the working class and its party and in close, trusting cooperation with all anti-fascist democratic forces, the construction of a stable and dynamic Socialist German state, which is respected worldwide and has been successful, came from the most difficult beginning. It has a modern and efficient national economy, and advanced science and culture, it offers all citizens social security and safety, Willi Stoph stated. "in accordance with the demands of the time we link the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution. Resolving this task requires significant material and intellectual efforts."

In conclusion, the politician said: "Together we have the strength to master the challenges of the future, to continue to dynamically develop our socialist society and to make our socialist homeland increasingly homely and attractive."

## Hager Condemns FRG for 'Baiting Campaign'

*AU0610091389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Oct 89 p 3*

[Report by Guenter Nemann and Wolfgang Spickermann: "Pride in the Things Achieved in the Enterprise Over 40 Years"]

[Excerpts] The Gera Union Machine Tool Factory is an important producer of computer-controlled drilling and milling processing cells, which are linked to form complex processing systems by means of modern computer technology. All main products of the enterprise bear the "Q" quality mark. These achievements were honored with the award of an honorary banner, which was presented by Kurt Hager at a meeting in the Gera-Tinz enterprise unit on Monday [2 October]. The event was attended by Herbert Ziegenhahn, first secretary of the Gera Bezirk SED leadership. [passage omitted]

At a meeting Kurt Hager conveyed thanks to the working people for their great achievements and cordial greetings from the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and its general secretary, Erich Honecker. Then the speaker referred to the baiting campaign against our republic and against socialism, which has been enthusiastically pursued over the past weeks by the FRG television, press, and radio. Nothing that has been achieved by the working people in the towns or countryside over the past 40 years is spared by this baiting and slander. It is not difficult to see why the gentlemen at the Rhine and Ruhr Rivers and their henchmen in the media are seething with rage about the GDR. At the hour of birth of our republic they stated that the worker peasant state would be able to exist only for a few weeks or months. Now the GDR is already celebrating its 40th anniversary.

In spite of everything, Kurt Hager said, it has been proved that the workers and peasants are able to build a state without bankers and entrepreneurs and to establish a modern economy, which is based on the achievements of science and technology. The example of this enterprise also shows that socialism has facilitated a steady and dynamic economic growth, full employment, and a social policy that serves the welfare of the people, Kurt Hager stated. [passage omitted]

## Workers Militia Vows To Protect Achievements

*LD0610125389 Hamburg DPA in German 1158 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—Against the background of the GDR anniversary festivities and the clashes—some of them violent—in Leipzig and Dresden, church representatives and the "New Forum" have called urgently for peace in the country and for nonviolence. Meanwhile, members of the enterprise militia have emphasized their readiness "to guarantee public order and security."

With reference to incidents in the city, a reader's letter in today's LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG says: "We are

ready and willing to protect effectively what has been created by the toil of our hands in order finally and effectively to stop these counterrevolutionary actions. If necessary, we will do so with weapons in hand!" The letter is [word indistinct] by Commander Guenter Lutz on behalf of the 100-strong "Hans Geiffer" workers militia group. [passage omitted]

Prayer meetings during which the release of arrested civil rights campaigners and church workers was urged have been held in numerous GDR towns over the past days. Fasts and vigils also are taking place. As was said, 10 prisoners at the Brandenburg prison are said to be on hunger strike, as well. They thus wish to protest against their poor prison conditions.

During the past days, founding and sympathy functions for the "New Forum" have taken place in several GDR towns, mostly in overcrowded rooms and rented church halls. Initiators of this political citizens' initiative stated that in the meantime, they have around 10,000 signatures GDR-wide. In Schwerin, about 1,000 supporters appeared for the first constituent session in the rented St Paul's Church. Similar reprots also have come from Erfurt, but in smaller towns as well, the wave of solidarity and sympathy was great. In the Zittau District alone there were hundreds of signatures.

## Honecker Proposes Negotiations With FRG

*LD0510180889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1158 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR is prepared to enter into negotiations or consultations on steps toward disarmament or arms limitations with responsible FRG politicians at any time. Erich Honecker gave this assurance in a letter to the head of the "German Peace Society—United Opponents of Conscription" of the FRG, Klaus Beisiegel.

The general secretary of the "German Peace Society—United Opponents of Conscription" had, in a letter to Erich Honecker and Helmut Kohl on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of World War II's inception, called on the GDR and the FRG to abstain, for the duration of 1 year, from calling up conscripts to serve in the armed forces.

Erich Honecker's letter says that he is in complete agreement with the view of the "German Peace Society—United Opponents of Conscription," that both German governments should contribute to overcoming the continuing military threat, to break down enemy images and build up trust, and thus free the way for a process of disarmament, for a world without weapons and the military.

It was doubtlessly one of the most important results of his official FRG visit in September 1987 that the GDR and the FRG confirmed the basic principle that never again war, but only peace should be allowed to emanate from German soil, Erich Honecker writes.

The 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II by German fascism imposed, in particular, the obligation to consider how the two German states can fulfill their duty of peace to the world. The GDR supports the elimination of all means of waging war. Arms limitations and disarmament must replace the arms build-up and the arms race.

Erich Honecker's letter also says: Now that a first step towards effective disarmament has been made with the elimination of medium-range missiles, it is our view that we can not only not allow any respite in the disarmament process, but should show greater haste so that the whole world, on the threshold of the year 2000, is freed not only of nuclear weapons, but from all weapons used for attack. In this spirit the GDR, driven by the endeavor to make a contribution of its own to disarmament and also to provide stimuli that make other states think, decided on measures at the beginning of this year that to a great extent concur with the ideas put forward by the "German Peace Society—United Opponents of Conscription" or go beyond them.

The GDR National Defense Council resolves that:

1. The GDR National People's Army will unilaterally and independently of negotiations be reduced by 10,000 men.

2. This reduction in the National People's Army's manpower will be accompanied by:

—The disbanding of 6 tank regiments;

—The elimination of 600 tanks;

—The disbanding of 1 flying squadron; and

—The decommissioning of 50 aircraft.

3. At the same time a reduction of 10 percent in national defense expenditures will be effected.

4. These reduction measures will be completed by the end of 1990, and the structure of the National People's Army will be reorganized so that its character is even more strictly one of defense.

Meanwhile, it says in Erich Honecker's letter, the implementation of this decision has progressed a long way. This decision contains far more than the proposal not to draft any conscripts for army service for 1 year.

The GDR has also taken this decision with the expectation that in the FRG, in accordance with the two side's obligations to peace, similar measures will be taken. Unfortunately, there has not, up to now, been a positive reaction from the FRG Government.

The GDR's readiness to enter into negotiations or consultations also includes a proposal to abandon the drafting of conscripts for 1 year.

### Reform Group Sends Open Letter to Gorbachev

*LD0510173689 Hamburg DPA in German 1631 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In an open letter to Mikhail Gorbachev, who is expected to arrive in East Berlin tomorrow for the [anniversary] festivities, the Dresden "Democratic Renewal Initiative" [Initiative Demokratische Erneuerung] has asked for support for reforms. As a victorious power the Soviet Union has a "special responsibility for the internal development of the GDR," it is stressed. "The political situation is becoming increasingly destabilized through the (state) apparatus' unwillingness for dialogue." Diplomats in East Berlin assume that during talks with Erich Honecker and the SED leadership Gorbachev will encourage his interlocutors to improve the situation.

Because of the bad atmosphere in the country "weariness of competition and a failing readiness to achieve" is apparently prevalent in many GDR enterprises. Trade union officials of the publicly owned Bergman-Borsig enterprise in East Berlin have sent a letter to Harry Tisch, head of the trade union umbrella association, expressing their displeasure about the situation in the country and criticizing the state-run GDR press. "In discussions the virtually unanimous rejection of the way and manner in which the press, radio, and television treats, or sometimes conceals, far-reaching current political problems which concern the workers, can be ascertained."

### Reinhold Rejects 'Western' Reforms, Capitalism

*LD0510185589 Hamburg DPA in German 1748 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—According to Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] chief theorist Professor Otto Reinhold, reforms in the GDR are only possible on the soil of socialism. The head of the SED Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, speaking to journalists in East Berlin today, again rejected reforms along Western concepts. He repeated his view that a capitalist GDR alongside a capitalist Federal Republic is unthinkable. Reforms will never take the GDR away from socialism.

Reinhold stressed that it is necessary to discuss reforms with all social forces as long as they remain "on the territory and in the interests of socialist society." Asked about a debate with opposition groups such as the "New Forum" (NF), he said he thought that SED members too, were entering into discussions with people who "support this forum." With reference to the issue of denying the legality of the NF, he repeated the accusation made by the writer, Stephan Hermlin, who talked about the lack of the "socialism" factor in NF concepts.

Following the celebrations to mark the anniversary of the founding of the state, broad discussions on GDR reforms will precede the SED congress next year. Reinhold made it clear that the GDR continues to need an economic growth of 3.5 to 4 percent. The unity of economic and social policy will be continued, although pricing and subsidy policies will have to be discussed.

Reinhold described as "very cynical" Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's proposal to offer the GDR far-reaching economic aid and link it to reforms. The GDR is interested in expanding normal economic cooperation with the Federal Republic.

Reinhold described the wave of emigration and flight from the GDR as a "tragic development." "Every single person who leaves the GDR is one too many." It is particularly tragic that so many young people, who include many well-qualified skilled workers, are leaving the country. In the long-term this will be a "minus" for economic development. The GDR will draw the "necessary conclusions" from the development, he said. It could, however, not be the aim of GDR policy to want to bring all the emigres back to the GDR. Every individual case of a person returning, of which there are many, will be examined.

### Herrmann on 'Consistency' of Party Policy

*AU0610090689 Sofia BTA in English 0809 GMT 6 Oct 89*

["Senior SED Official Interviewed for RABOTNICHESKO DELO"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 6 (BTA)—The GDR is and will remain, just as it has been during all 40 years since it was established, a barrier to revanchism and neo-Nazism which again boldly rears its head in the FRG, says Mr Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) in an interview with today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

Listing his country's successes in all fields of public life, Mr Joachim Herrmann indicates that they have been achieved because the SED has been invariably guided in its social strategy by the creative application of the generally relevant regularities of socialism to the specific conditions of the GDR. It has emerged as a state where the socialist ownership of the means of production and the socialist planned economy had proved their worth. It is only natural and realistic that the working people participate democratically in the administration of the state and the economy according to the principle "working together, planning together, governing together", Mr Joachim Herrmann indicates.

"The SED will persevere in doing what helped advance us over the last 40 years," he says, dwelling on the party's preparations for its 12th Congress. "Our policy is associated with consistency and renewal. We will keep adhering to what is right, at the same time abandoning what holds us back. We will boldly undertake innovation," the interviewee says.

Mr Joachim Herrmann emphasizes that the SED and the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] are linked by sound

friendship and that the relations between Bulgaria and the GDR undergo a vigorous and steady development.

### CDU Says Leadership Losing Right To Rule

*LD0610092589 Hamburg DPA in German 0857 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Hamburg, (DPA)—Winfried Wolk, member of the GDR Christian Democratic Union Main Executive, has denied the GDR political leadership's moral right to rule. In an interview with the private television company SAT-1 on Friday morning, the politician said the leadership would understand that with each day that passes without things being discussed openly and without any sign being given, the leadership was losing its moral right to represent the people politically. "These are hard words, but I must put it that way," Wolk stated.

In response to the question as to whether the GDR leadership should resign under the pressure of public opinion, the politician opined: "I think that is a utopia, but I believe it ought to be possible to signal a new beginning, precisely on the 40th anniversary of the GDR."

The item was received in edited form.

### 'New Forum' Spokesman Sees Need for 'Identity'

*AU0610110289 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 6 Oct 89 p 4*

[Interview with Rolf Henrich, spokesman of the GDR opposition group "New Forum," by Dieter Staecker: "Those Who Have an Identity Need Not Isolate Themselves;" date and place not given]

[Text] West Berlin—DIE PRESSE: GDR State Security Minister Erich Mielke has accused the "New Forum" of antisocialism. Which kind of socialism do you want?

Henrich: Certainly one that is different from the one that Mr Mielke imagines. Mr Mielke shouts the word socialism to the world and thinks that the whole community pledged to socialism has to stand behind him. We no longer want to accept this. We ask: What does the individual link with the term socialism? And I answer: First and foremost, socialism is a society which is based on social ownership of the decisive producer goods.

DIE PRESSE: When you speak of "decisive producer goods," you are obviously thinking of exceptions.

Henrich: On the basis of social ownership the specific conditions of ownership have to be differentiated. You cannot manage an ice-cream parlor like a steel mill. There must be something like operational ownership.

DIE PRESSE: What should one understand under this term?

Henrich: This means that the individual receives the ownership of his producer goods, for a certain period, for instance for his working life, and that he also receives a share in the success of his work. For such models we need not reintroduce capitalism. In this way we give rise to independent initiative—this creative element, which capitalism certainly has.

DIE PRESSE: You are against a capitalist society in the GDR?

Henrich: As regards the economic structures, there are never any "pure" societies. Therefore, it is not impossible, for instance, private ownership of producer goods in the crafts to exist in the GDR.

DIE PRESSE: But reunification with the capitalist FRG is out of the question for you?

Henrich: We think that the GDR has to look for its own identity and develop it. And this might be possible on the basis of social ownership of producer goods, which I have just outlined. Then we would be different in a certain way from the FRG. But this would not mean that we isolate ourselves. Those who have their own identity need not isolate themselves from anyone.

DIE PRESSE: How close could the GDR and the FRG come to each other?

Henrich: We have a common language. I have more difficulties communicating with a Kirghiz than with a German. And this will probably remain so for the next 200 years. This is our real basis and it is ridiculous to ignore it.

DIE PRESSE: Do you think of a federal German state?

Henrich: In Germany we lived in federal structures for a long time, until 1871. For long periods we lived together very peacefully—both with the East and with the West. This example would be my ideal: bringing the people closer together.

DIE PRESSE: Which role will the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] play in the reform process you are striving for?

Henrich: A decisive one. Nothing will work without the SED, because it has 2.3 million party members, most of whom have technical competence on their side. We want to cooperate with members of all parties in a friendly and constructive way.

DIE PRESSE: A total of 8,000 "New Forum" members are not that many....

Henrich: The Greens in the FRG have 40,000 party members of about 60 million inhabitants. If the GDR state leadership permits us to continue, we will quickly achieve this size—in proportional terms.

DIE PRESSE: Are you afraid that after the rejoicings on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR there will be an ice age in the country?

Henrich: An ice age? Rather the end of times, the twilight of the gods. But seriously: The more success we have the

harsher the measures against us are. No one expected the avalanche that has been started.

### Water Management Discussed With USSR

*AU0410101789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Sep 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "GDR-USSR Cooperation in the Sphere of Water Management"]

[Text] East Berlin—Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of environmental protection and water management, and Mikhail Chishevskiy, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Construction, discussed the further scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and USSR in the sphere of water management in Berlin on Thursday [28 September].

During a friendly exchange of views, the partners assessed the findings concerning the development of new technological methods and the construction of highly efficient plants for the purification of sewage water in large towns and industrial facilities. They stressed the great advantage of increased cooperation. They stated with satisfaction that new scientific-technological findings and methods that were developed in joint research collectives have been applied in the large purification plants of Wassmannsdorf and Stahnsdorf.

### University Cooperation Pact Signed With USSR

*AU0410094989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Oct 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Cooperation With USSR in University Matters"]

[Text] Moscow—The annual cooperation protocols for the years 1989-90 have been signed between the ministries for university and technical school affairs of the GDR and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic as well as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. They are designed to further strengthen relations and link international research cooperation among universities and technical schools in an even better way with the scientific-technological and economic cooperation among combines and production units in both countries.

During talks in Moscow and Kiev, the high level of cooperation between the universities and technical schools of the GDR and the USSR in the education and training of highly qualified cadres, as well as in scientific research was praised.

### Egyptian Union Delegation Concludes Visit

*AU0310221289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Sep - 1 Oct 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Egyptian Trade Unionists and GDR Expand Contacts"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [29 September] in Berlin Harry Tisch, chairman of the Federal Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, received the delegation of the General Egyptian Trade Union Federation (EFTU), headed by its chairman Ahmad al-'Amawi, for a concluding talk. During the exchange of views both sides expressed the concurrence of their views on the basic questions of trade union and politcal work. They stressed the great responsibility of the trade unions for the safeguarding and nerservation of peace.

Both sides spoke out in favor of using the means that are freed by disarmament for economic and social develpment, including overcoming underdevelopment in Africa. Furthermore, it is important to intensify the efforts for restructuring the international economic relations on a just and democratic basis in order to contribute to solving the debt problems in many countries of the world. [passage omitted]

Harry Tisch and Ahmad al-'Amawi signed a protocol on further cooperation between the two organizations, which affirms the will to further expand and strengthen the varied contacts.

## 14th MSZMP Congress Session Begins 6 Oct

### Congress To Be 'Completely Open'

*LD0510151589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 4 Oct 89*

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] congress, which begins the day after tomorrow, will be completely open. This has been announced by MSZMP Press Chief Emil Kimmel, who added that only the debate on personnel issues will be held behind closed doors. Incidentally, party members and, moreover, opposition supporters may also be present at the sessions. Sandor Csoori, a leader of the Democratic Forum, has already indicated that he will be participating. Everyone, including reporters from 35 countries, will have access to the documents issued at the congress. Emil Kimmel confirmed that no foreign delegations will attend this congress. On the other hand, government members, parliamentary deputies, and the main protagonists in Hungarian public life will be present.

### Pre-Session Debates Agenda

*LD0510185389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Excerpt] As we already mentioned at the beginning of our program, it seems that the congress actually started at 1600 today, behind closed doors where the delegates are debating the points on the agenda. It is possible that other matters are also being discussed; however, no news has leaked out so far from behind the closed doors.

Besides Hungarian television and Hungarian radio, the Black Box [Fekete doboz], the alternative television, will also broadcast events from the congress. Anna Lengyel talked to (Marta Elbert), director, and (Istvan Javor), cameraman.

[(Javor)] We did not expect to be let in but, contrary to our expectations, an entry permit was given without any problems.

[(Elbert)] We will not be let in on Friday morning, because last night I spoke to the press officer who said that 1,000 journalists, television companies, reporters, and photographers wish to go in and there will be a rota regarding letting people in at different times. [passage omitted]

### Nemeth Previews Congress

*LD0510195489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] At Szekesfehervar, the 15th National Conference on Historic Monuments was opened by the Hungarian premier. Miklos Nemeth spoke about the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party congress which opens tomorrow.

[Begin Nemeth recording] Hungarian historical development, not for the first time during the course of our history, has again reached a decisive phase. We have embarked on an unparalleled historical experiment. In the past 1 or 2 years, the society has been forced into a depression of decades, its various organized and spontaneously organizing forces have forced apart the earlier political power structure, and the development of a pluralist political state structure, based on the principle and practice of democracy, has commenced.

With the government, we have endeavored to stand at the head of this change, in the interests of the stability of the country, to ensure a peaceful political transition. The government has become an independent, sovereign, political power center, which has tried to integrate every political force which advances society, and place it in the service of development.

It has stretched out a hand to the churches for solidarity, which the churches have accepted. It has ensured the legal, institutional guarantees for the self-organizing process of other political and social forces.

It is not just governmental work, but state life which is under renewal. Tomorrow, a party congress is opening, which according to all our hopes will close and at the same time open a historical era in Hungary.

The party leadership, let us admit, has lost its credibility, in large circles both in society and among members. Its influence on the directing the fate of the country has been reduced. The progressive forces of the party and of society recognize this process of erosion. For this reason, at tomorrow's congress they are endeavoring to radically restructure the party's program, organization, and leadership, so that this renewed party will once again win back its motivating force and the confidence of the majority of society.

This renewal of the party is not an easy process, for in this party, which up to now represented the power elite, many kinds of forces have gathered. Many people cannot renounce their acquired privileges, the tool of direct practice of power. They do not welcome that further, significant factors have appeared on the stage of politics, which justly demand a place in forming the fate of the country.

I have confidence that at the congress which stands before us, on the basis of left-wing and social values, this political force will be renewed and recover and will again—now in a positive sense—become the significant force in society.

This renewal will not be free of pain from old conditionings, and I add, ideological cramps, and it is probable that, in a civilized but European—in a European way—we will have to free ourselves from the persons who cannot detach themselves from these. For the stake is not small. The chance of that process of progressive restructuring in which we are, with you, participants, is unsure. [end recording]

### Congress Delayed; Coverage Details

*LD0610090589*

[Editorial report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 0725 GMT on 6 October begins a relay from the Congress Center in Budapest where the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) Congress is due to open at 0730 GMT.

An unidentified reporter talks with Congress press chief Emil Kimmel, who says that yesterday evening's discussion over procedural issues was necessary in order to leave more time during the congress for substantive debate. The reporter talks about the expected agenda for the morning.

He then speaks of radio and television coverage of the congress: "I now call the attention of the viewers to the fact that Hungarian Radio and Hungarian Television are scolded a bit in today's issue of NEPSZABADSAG, because they are maybe not dealing with this event by giving a proportion of program time that is in accordance with its importance. We will now give approximately 25-30 minutes, but maybe a bit more, live. Then, television's 'Newsreel' [at 1830 GMT] will deal at length with the MSZMP Congress. Then, at 2120 [2020 GMT] we will give a 1-hour roundup on the First Program. Television-2 of course will deal with the event. According to my information, it will relay the evening press briefing. We can speculate on where and when the press briefing will be held, and on what its topic will be." Kimmel says: "The press briefing will be held in the center, which has been set up in (?Intransmash). During the day press conferences of varying durations will be held, but the official press conference will be held every day in the evening. It will be held by designated spokesmen, elected by the congress. Proposed for this position are party spokesman Laszlo Major and Central Committee Secretary Janos Barabas."

At 0735 GMT the reporter says that Laszlo Kovacs is at the microphone. Kovacs makes the following announcement: "I would like to inform you that last night, in accordance with our prior debate, the procedural committee formulated the text of all the proposals heard here. However, the printing works have not yet finished the task of printing this. Thus, we will begin the congress following a 20-30 minute delay." The relay then ends.

### Congress Opens; To Last 4 Days

*LD0610094789 Budapest MTI in English 0845 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 6 (MTI)—The 14th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party opened in Budapest Convention Centre at 9.20 am., on Friday, with almost an hour's delay. The conference is scheduled to last four days.

First Maria Ormos, member of the Political Executive Committee, paid tribute to the martyrs of Arad, and then HSWP President Rezso Nyers welcomed the 1,279 delegates with voting rights who represent a membership of 710,000.

The final decision on the working order of the conference is to be passed in the morning hours.

### Speakers Address Congress

*LD0610105189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 0816 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Relay of Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Congress in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Unidentified reporter] I see the Congress Hall on my monitor. The recess has ended; it was somewhat more prolonged than planned. Please tell us, Emil Kimmel, Congress press spokesman, what might have happened in the past 30 or 50 minutes?

[Kimmel] The delegates have received the documents which are have just been completed, and which contain the new agenda and the Congress schedule, which, of course, is no longer valid, since at this moment it has been upset owing to this 45-minute delay. This document is very interesting, because it represents a uniform system; it bears the inscription "Congress-89". [passage omitted]

[Reporter] How has the procedural proposal changed, as compared to last evening? Can you say anything about this?

[Kimmel] It proposes the discussion, as separate point on the agenda, of the submission, the chapter entitled "The Lessons of Our Historical Past", and proposes that the Congress adopt the briefing, to be submitted by General Secretary Karoly Grosz, as a report. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Now follows the anthem. [passage omitted] And now Maria Ormos steps to the microphone. It is 6 October.

[Ormos] Esteemed Congress! Today is 6 October. On 6 October 1849, 140 years ago, four figures were led out from the Orodea Castle in the early hours to be shot by the castle wall.

A little later, a further eight Hungarian officers became the heroes and martyrs of the Hungarian nation forever by being hung; several of them spoke little or no Hungarian. We could say, and perhaps justifiably, that this is a dark day, and it darkens the whole of October from the point of view of Hungarian history. But can we really say this?

Do not great ideas always demand victims? Did mankind ever win without blood and tears through the centuries-long utopian dreaming, through struggle for survival and the ceaseless perfection of its internal social relations?

Do not the peoples erect memorials to their martyrs in order to recall the bitterness and to weep again? People have always fought many defeated battles and even wars at times to realize their wish to make things better and to make their expectations of great ideas come true. In most cases they have only partially achieved their endeavors. However, if they do not try, and try again, if they do not want to try to achieve the impossible, again and again, they could not have achieved the possible.

These battles for social and national freedom were always accompanied everywhere by losses, and sometimes by defeat, and they were the concomitant of the bodies of martyrs and heroes. Peoples and nations know this without their teachers having to tell them. They know that there is also victory in a partial defeat, they know that the victim is the promise of tomorrow. They do not only want to grieve; when at an anniversary they remove their hats and bow their heads in front of the memory of those fallen, those unjustly harmed, the martyrs and the heroes, but they also gain strength from their memory.

However, October also means something else in Hungarian history. It means hope, it means the asters of 1918 [symbol of 1918 Republic of Councils], the great experiment for the creation of the sovereign and democratic Hungarian Republic. It means the will to live above the smouldering ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the starting point of the survival of a catastrophe. And the Hungarian people did indeed survive the horror of World War I and the peace, the white terror, the apocalypse of the second world inferno; not only did it survive all this, but in October 1956 it cast out its new oppressor from power, the anti-popular Rakosi regime, which called itself communist.

On 6 October 1956, sod fell for the second time on the bodies of four communists executed unlawfully. After the sad funeral, however, a spring-like storm of the people of a new October broke a gap in the walls of the Stalinist regime. This storm did not cross our homeland without serious sacrifices either, it gathered innocent victims here and there and this upsurge did not led to victory either; but the undertaking, the fight, and the sacrifice were not in vain this time either.

Let us bow our head to the memory of the Batthyanys, Damjanicss, Rajks, Imre Nagys, and Imre Mezos. But let us raise our eyes in the secure knowledge that they were not only defenseless victims of history, but were also active participants in it at the same time, fighters who struggled for great ideas in their own ways who formed history even with their deaths. Surrounded by the respect of the Hungarian people, let them rest in peace in the soil of the motherland, which they have all proclaimed as their own.

[Reporter] Now the members of the proposed Presidium, Rezso Nyers, Laszlo Kovacs, and Janos Gonczi are taking their places on the platform. And now Rezso Nyers presents the chairman's opening speech:

[Nyers] Dear comrades. I greet the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party delegates her present, the guests, and, through the openness of the press, all those of our compatriots who are interested in our work.

Dear comrades, in the past months, several noted personalities of the Hungarian nation have departed the ranks of the living; of those, many of them spent a life of struggle in the ranks of the workers' movement. In the national party organs we have lost Jeno Csente, Laszlo Farkasinszky, Jozsef Suhajda, Janos Tausz, and Istvan Tompe. A wide circle of our homeland's citizens, and sympathetic international public opinion, shared our deep grief when in the recent past we bade farewell with a heavy heart to Comrade Janos Kadar, one of the founders of our party and its most noted leader for decades.

I ask you, comrades, to mark his memory, standing in silence.

Thank you. Comrades, on the basis of the prior consultations which took place with the delegates, I propose that Comrade Gonczi should chair the opening session. He will make a proposal for the chairman of the mandate-examining and procedural committees. Are there any substantive observations regarding this proposal for the chairman this morning? [brief silence] There are no substantive observations.

Those who accept the proposal, vote with their delegate certificate. Thank you, there is an obvious majority. I declare that the congress has accepted Janos Gonczi as chairman of the opening session. I hand over to the chairman.

[Gonczi] Esteemed Congress, for us to be able to start our work in substance, we have to elect the leaders of two working committees. I propose that, in accordance with the prior coordination, we elect those who have carried out the work so far as chairmen of the mandate-examining and procedural committees.

I propose that the chairman of the mandate-examining committee be Comrade Pal Vastagh. Whoever agrees with this, please vote with your mandate certificate. Thank you, a visible majority; I will not ask for votes against.

I propose that the chairman of the Procedural Committee be Comrade Laszlo Kovacs. Whoever agrees with this, please indicate with your delegate certificate. Thank you very much.

With this, the congress has decisively elected Comrade Pal Vastagh as chairman of the Mandate-Examining Committee, and Comrade Laszlo Kovacs as chairman of the Procedural Committee. I ask the comrades to participate in the further work.

For us to be clear about our working capacity, we first have to listen to the report of the Mandate-Examining Committee. I ask Comrade Pal Vastagh to give this report, on behalf of the Mandate-Examining Committee.

[Vastagh] Esteemed Congress, dear comrades, on the occasion of our preliminary consultation yesterday, I delivered the report whose essence was accepted by the Mandate-Examining Committee, supplemented with representatives of the delegates' groups. I do not wish to repeat this, now. I would like to inform you that...[voice fades out]

[Reporter] Esteemed viewers, Pal Vastagh is delivering a report on the work of the Mandate-Examining Committee. I imagine that this is not an exciting part of the Congress work; there will be far more interesting parts. How would Emil Kimmel sum up, in two sentences, the essence of the Mandate-Examining Committee's work?

[Kimmel] It registers the Congress delegates, it ascertains the validity of the mandates, and the chairman of the mandates' committee objectively presents the nature, character of the representatives of the delegates' groups.

### Procedural Debate Continues

*LD0610102889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Andras Kerekes report from Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Congress in Budapest]

[Text] The congress has been meeting for nearly 2 hours, with the participation of 1,256 delegates with full rights. The members of the Central Committee and of the Central Control Committee cannot vote, except, of course, if they have been elected as delegates somewhere.

There is another innovation as compared to earlier congresses. For the first time in the history of the Hungarian communist movement, the delegates have been able to organize platforms. At the moment, six have been formed, and a seventh is in the process of being formed. In general, they have 30, 40, or 60 members. However, 464 have already joined the Reform Alliance. The groups' lists of names will be published this evening in the daily briefing paper entitled "Congress 89". I can say all this in such detail because the general secretary's report has not yet begun.

The debate over procedure has continued in the past hour. Janos Goenczi, who is chairing the session, is frequently compelled to make those present vote in order to decide individual issues regarding detail. This is happening, in spite of the fact that the preliminary procedural debate lasted until dawn, and according to the Reform Alliance which, as you have heard, is very large, everything must be done in order to avert the Congress being overwhelmed by endless procedural debates; instead, it should deal with substantive issues that determine the party's future. However, it appears that it is still necessary to wait for 1-2 hours for this.

### Delegates Vote on Working Order

*LD0610135789 Budapest MTI in English 1203 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 6 (MTI)—During a lengthy debate on the working order, the delegates voted separately for the points, which also included alternatives. Of the four versions of scheduling the congressional debate, they adopted the one envisaging three stages of debate after elaboration of points 1, 2 and 3 (Central Committee report, party manifesto and statutes).

In the first stage of the debate the party's aims, character, rules of operation and the basic themes of its manifesto will be specified. The party name is to be decided simultaneously. The second stage will cover the discussion and adoption of the party manifesto and statutes, and the election of national bodies and officials. In the third stage a stand will be taken on current political issues, motions and cases of appeal.

Concerning the election of leading party officials, congress decided by majority vote (645) that the party president will be elected by individual nomination, and the other officials and presidium members through nomination on lists.

The plenary session will hold a public vote for the president, with more than 50 per cent of votes needed to nominate other officials on lists.

### Nyers on 'New Type' of Party

*LD0610121789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Andras Kerekes report from Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Congress in Budapest]

[Text] The history of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] has ended. Now there is a need for a new type of party which will be the successor but not political follower of the MSZMP said Rezo Nyers, party chairman, in his political opening of the congress. Nyers has emphasized that this party has to appear in the political arena decisively as a people's party, as a representative of the interests of employees. He referred to the fact that the Congress was preceded by sharp but necessary debates. Leading members of the party all feel that people in Hungary first and foremost expect to get successfuly out of the crisis which was brought about primarily by torpedoing the reforms of the seventies, and by the 1985-86 decision of the leadership on expansion without fundamental structural changes.

This is the reason for the large-scale foreign indebtedness, and the people justifiably hold the MSZMP responsible for this. It is not possible to make excuses, Rezso Nyers said, adding that they have learned a lesson from these events. The party itself facilitates the end of unchecked rule and the one-party system.

The congress is now listening to the Central Committee report being delivered by general secretary Karoly Grosz.

### Deputies Adopt Agenda

*LD0610122189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] At present there is a recess in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] congress. Before it, General Secretary Karoly Grosz outlined the Central Committee's report. At around midday, Chairman Rezso Nyers delivered a speech, pointing out that sharp but unavoidable disputes have recently divided the party.

Now, the socialist movement needs a new type of party, a successor to the MSZMP, but not its mere continuation. This party should represent not only the communists, but generally, employees, Rezso Nyers said.

After a 2-hour debate, this morning the delegates adopted the Congress agenda and procedures. The debate will take place in three phases.

### Grosz Calls for Renewal, Unity

*LD0610134689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Miklosa Martin-Kovacs and Peter Trebics sum up the morning events at the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress:

In his roughly 1/2-hour speech to supplement the Central Committee's written report, MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz took a stand in favor of a party undergoing renewal and a new type of party unity. A strong MSZMP must be created which is at the service of economic stability. Thinking of the upcoming elections, Karoly Grosz found it very important to emphasize the shaping of a forward-pointing unity. The unity must be visible, he said, because the people will only choose a party they consider to be strong and able to govern. The participants in the congress received with applause his statement that the main goal, and also the most feasible path, at present is democratic socialism. He emphasized that there is a future need for changes in outlook, and not for a clarification of issues of principle and policy.

First and foremost, Karoly Grosz emphasized his own responsibility because, as he said, the Central Committee had not worked in unity and successfully over the past 16 months. At the same time, he pointed out that in this period, the MSZMP had initiated changes of political importance at a rate of which there was no parallel in the previous 1 and ½ decades. It would be a historical mistake to accept that the MSZMP's moderate and radical reformers cannot be reconciled, the general secretary emphasized, and in this connection he mentioned that there is no sense in further sharpening the otherwise over-dramatized differences within the party.

Those who do not agree with the political line accepted by the Congress should not be allowed to organize themselves into an independent force within the party, said General Secretary Karoly Grosz, in his verbal supplement to the Central Committee report, inter alia.

### Further on Grosz Remarks

*LD0610150489 Budapest MTI in English 1434 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 6 (MTI)—Democratic socialism is the most feasible road for the rise of the nation, and the party is merely a means for this. The HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party/MSZMP] is the most significantly organized political force in Hungary today. Its organization, preparedness, internal and international relations make it suited to ensure the transition in a civilized manner. The congress should discuss the current tasks of the transition, said HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz, making his remarks to the written report of the Central Committee. Mr Grosz announced: He had rewritten his paper during the night, on the basis of the meaningful debate held on Thursday evening, however, the Central Committee did not have the opportunity to approve the paper.

Applause interrupted the speech of the general secretary several times. Analyzing the situation that has come about in the past years, Mr Grosz said that the 13th congress formulated tasks that could not be fulfilled, and realized at the same time. Years were thus wasted, which led to the country's considerable indebtedness. Responsibility for this does not fall on the party membership but on the political leadership. A narrow leadership, and not the membership, decided in vital issues, and the decisions were reached in the central leadership of the party, rather than in parliament or government. However, advisors also initiated and supported the erroneous decisions. The experts who stood near the decision-making centre were among the first to encourage the raising of loans. By the mid-1980s, the burdens falling on Hungarian economy were of such dimensions that surpasses the country's size, and the decision-making competence of its leadership.

### Pozsgay: 'Reform Forces Will Win' at Congress

*LD0310085389 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2015 GMT 2 Oct 89*

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Italian state television screened an interview with Imre Pozsgay a few days ago. He emphasized that at the [Hungarian Socialist Workers] Party congress starting on Friday issues of decisive importance will be determined. The Stalinist power system constructed in the Kadar era has come to its end; a new democratic system must be created but it is the people that must decide about this. However, let us see what Imre Pozsgay said on Italian television.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent, in Hungarian] Do you want to change the name of the party and do you want to dissolve the Central Committee?

[Pozsgay] I think that this party, at its congress in October will keep from the communist and Marxian heritage what has been of value and what belongs to history. At the same time it wants to renew itself as a new party; to place on its banner the values of European movements, including those of socialist movements too. Its name will, with every certainty, be Hungarian Socialist Party, while its structure and its entire territorial statute will cast away democratic centralism. In a Stalinist sense it will no longer be a communist party and we will not be communist.

[Correspondent] I have heard that in Hungary many people describe capitalists as sharks. What is your view of this?

[Pozsgay] We too know from world literature those horrors which for example Shakespeare or Balzac wrote, about money, or markets. These are evil things. However, there is only one more evil thing than these: if there is no market and no money—if a phenomenon of shortage comes to exist just as precisely the one in East Europe which brings poverty.

[Correspondent] You announced recently that should the reform forces fail to win at the congress on 6 October you will leave the Communist Party.

[Pozsgay] I believe, and in the negotiations with the delegates it has become almost a conviction for me, that the reform forces will win. The victory of the reform forces will mean a new program which can carry out this change of model and turnabout, [and will mean] a new statute which, instead of the principle of democratic centralism, professes the principle of commitment to the party based on conviction. It provides a role for the membership in decisions and [also means] a personnel policy that renews the party leadership and thus, after the many failures and defeats, after a government that has swept the country into a crisis, we can appear as a credible party. This is my idea, this is what I hope from the October congress. If this will not happen, then this [party] will not be, with every certainty, my party.

Undoubtedly, one must calculate with this, but also truly endeavor to [achieve] a victory of the reform side, the reform forces. [end recording]

## Kovacs Interviewed on MSZMP Challenges

*AU0510123189 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Sep 89 p 9*

[Interview with MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Jeno Kovacs, member of the Political Executive Committee, by Sara Pogany: "There Is No Reconciliation With Those Striving for Autocracy"—date and place not given]

[Text] There are 10 days left until the congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], and there have hardly been more intense congress preparations in the 40-year history of this ruling state-party. The stakes are high: Momentous changes have been taking place in Hungarian domestic policy since the party conference in 1988. Will the MSZMP be able to meet the pace of these changes? What can guarantee that the events will not sweep away this party striving to renew itself? Or will the spectacular crumbling of the MSZMP continue? We interviewed Jeno Kovacs about these issues.

[Pogany] The Central Committee adopted a position on the political and organizational issues of the preparations for the congress on 26 September. However, there is still a great deal of uncertainty with regard to the MSZMP congress. On the basis of the latest Central Committee session, can you say anything certain?

[Kovacs] With regard to the preparations for the congress, I think that the most important result so far is that, after lengthy debates, the Central Committee succeeded in agreeing on the two draft documents that will fundamentally determine the future of the party. I consider the draft statute to be particularly important because only democratic parties can function in a democratic society. If the internal functioning of a party is antidemocratic, this can be a permanent danger to democracy in society. The new MSZMP statute is not merely a party affair because, if the norms of democracy are not asserted in such a big party, this will also threaten democracy in society. I think that this new party statute based on democratic principles is a clearcut step on the road taken by the MSZMP 1 and ½ years ago.

### A Breakthrough in Democratization

[Pogany] I take it from your words that some kind of breakthrough has taken place in the direction of democratization, and that you were not certain that the Central Committee would make this decision.

[Kovacs] I indeed consider this decision to be a breakthrough, even if the conditions for such a decision have for long been ripe within the party. The ideas that have now been formulated in a relatively uniform concept, have been present in this party for a long time. I was not pessimistic about the way things would turn out, but, no doubt, I have had fears because it is not enough to put something new on paper; this is only the initial step. If the congress adopts the draft, its practical implementation will require extremely tough organizational work and large-scale reorganization on all levels of the party. In my experience, Hungarian politicians and political bodies show great capacity in formulating ideas; however, the way these ideas are implemented appears to be quite modest, apart from the exceptions.... Undoubtedly, this is less spectacular than the announcement of a new political idea. This does not refer only to the MSZMP politicians.

Back to the draft statute: I consider this to be an achievement because an organizational system based on

the will of the members will replace the current bureaucratic centralism practiced for a long time. This also means that the party organs will have the task of serving the members rather than just regularly "informing" them. The community of party members will determine the limits of their decisionmaking and management rights. Another extremely important change is that one can find practical guarantees for the freedom of platforms, both on an individual and collective level—although this "formulation" does not appear in the statute.

[Pogany] What does this mean for the individual listed among the "field party members" so far?

[Kovacs] This means first of all that the party member will be able to freely cooperate with any other party members and to openly organize support for his opinion, be it a political or personnel issue. It is also a guarantee of the freedom of platform that the new election system ensures the representation of minority opinions in various levels of party organizations.

**The Limits of the Freedom of Platforms**

[Pogany] Thus, in the future, minority opinions will also appear in writing in an MSZMP position published in connection with any political issue?

[Kovacs] This appears in the draft statute in the way that, in case of a decision or position, the members in question will be able to learn about the other minority opinions that enjoy support. In places where the freedom of platforms is functioning, there are also quantitive conditions for the recognition of minority groups. Generally, platforms supported by 20-25 percent of the members are allowed to appear as independent platforms.

[Pogany] Are they registered or not registered then, irrespective of the proportion?

[Kovacs] At the moment, the draft statute stipulates that, if the minority opinion reaches 10 percent, the members should be informed of this along with the decision. As for the final proportion, I think the congress will discuss this.

[Pogany] As far as I know, the renewed MSZMP wants to be an alliance of platforms. Did you discuss the freedom of factions, and where the border between the two lies?

[Kovacs] This issue was not on the agenda of the latest Central Committee meeting, but it was present all the more so during the preparatory debates. The classification of a trend within the party depends on the functioning of a community of platforms and opinions. The international social democratic movement has well-tested practical rules in connection with this, and I think that, after a transitional period, these can easily be applied in the case of the MSZMP too.

[Pogany] Could you mention some rules?

[Kovacs] There are a lot of detailed regulations that stipulate the things that are allowed and those that are not allowed. For example, it is a basic demand that the functioning of a platform should be oriented toward the reorganization or change of its own party policy, in the interest of the party in which the platform is functioning. Another extremely important principle is that a platform should work openly within the party, and not as a freemasons' lodge. A platform should make itself and its activity known, as well as the people whom it invites; its meetings should be open to the other party members too, and so on. As a third point, I would mention the fact that the trends should operate within the party and, in this case, this will determine the rules of publicity. This means that the bodies should find and ensure the means within the party, means through which the platforms convey their opinion to the other party members. For example, the organizational statute of most social democratic parties stipulates that a practice in which a member or grouping in the party is making use of the mass media to inform the other party members about opinions that differ from the majority opinion is a most severe offense to the party discipline. This is a social democratic rule, and there is not yet such a rule in the MSZMP draft statute, but it might emerge at the congress. In the current situation, I think it is premature to introduce such rules.

**A Party Split on the Balance**

[Pogany] Why?

[Kovacs] Because we are in a transitional period now. In my view, there are not yet real platforms, a real freedom of platforms, or real publicity, including the party publicity within the MSZMP. Therefore, in my view, it would be a mistake to introduce regulations now for an imagined situation.

[Pogany] Can we expect a party split at the MSZMP congress?

[Kovacs] The party is not a piece of linen, and even a piece of linen will not tear by itself. The party does not tear by itself either, but it can be torn apart.

[Pogany] Was there any tug-of-war at the latest Central Committee meeting?

[Kovacs] One cannot put the question simply whether there will be a party split or not. I cannot say whether anyone wants to cause a split in the party. I cannot see inside other people's heads, and it is impossible to tell this from words. Deeds, not words, are what counts. I think everyone has to consider both the common responsibility for a peaceful transition and his own responsibility, and everyone should first of all ask what is better for this country. What can we win or lose with a possible party split? My international experience tells me that the big parties that split into several parts did so badly in the elections that all the parts together did not get the same amount of votes as the unified party. I am referring here to the Spanish, Swedish, or the Finish examples.

Everyone must consider this. At the same time, there are also principled political issues on which the majority of the party, including myself, do not want to compromise in the future. The new leadership of the party should clearly reflect a commitment to radical changes. This is not inflexibility or defiance. It is simply that the majority committed to democracy cannot reconcile even with hidden autocratic efforts. A decisive majority committed to a market economy based on mixed property cannot compromise with those who only consider this as slogans, but in practice they vote for preserving the burden of monopolies and of a bureaucratic state property; a decisive majority which demands a multilateral international orientation for Hungary cannot compromise with groups that propose a unilateral dependence, no matter what the direction of this dependence is. The positions should be made clear on these issues, and the acceptance of these positions depends on the free choice of free people.

### They Can Also Separate

[Pogany] Thus, there are still quite a few open questions.

[Kovacs] I think that there are groups for whom certain majority positions are not acceptable already today. There is nothing special in this, and there have always been such groups. In the course of political mechanism, these groups that were in minority in such cases were able to develop an internal opposition within the MSZMP. Now, the situation has changed in the sense that they are now able to weigh whether to consider themselves a particular party opposition within the MSZMP—and in this case the basic rule of a democratic party also refers to them, a rule according to which majority decisions and all their consequences are the basis of a unified action—or to choose another solution: to separate and leave the party. Although little time is left to the congress, I think it is nevertheless enough to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of various solutions, of a possible split in the party.

## Romania Stops Arad Commemoration, Impedes Travel

*LD0610124389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] The Hungarian Government had planned to have its representatives pay tribute at Arad in person on today's memorial day for the executed defense generals. However, the Romanian Government impeded this, and not this alone. Eva Cseh and Peter Marvanyi report:

[Cseh] It is impossible to travel as an individual citizen, from Hungary to Arad, or even to other Romanian settlements. The travellers on the passenger train leaving Bekescsaba at 0600 [0500 GMT] this morning were not able to proceed further than the border station at Kuertoes [Curtici]. First, all the people—children, adults, and conductors alike—were searched from head to toe by Romanian customs officials at the border. Then, their passports were collected and no one was allowed to leave the train or transfer to another one.

A short time later, it was the Hungarian customs official who handed the official documents back to their owners. All the passports had the word (anulat) written in ink onto a red stamp. This meant that the Romanian authorities had cancelled their own stamp, so the train brought all its passengers back to Hungary via Leokoeshaza. There also were two Czechoslovak citizens among the passengers, for it made absolutely no difference who wanted to travel to Romania or what their reasons were.

After this shocking incident, I was curious to see what was the situation at the border crossing point on the road at Gyulavari. As I discovered, the Romanian border guards have not yet sent, anyone back but they are delaying procedures: the handling of documents and customs examinations. It is typical, for example, that crew of the television Newsreel, with Laszlo Juszt, crossed the Hungarian border at 0705 this morning, and at 1000 the crew were still hanging around at the Romanian crossing point.

Several drivers, having had enough of waiting for hours, voluntarily turned back from the Romanian border in the morning.

At this same site in Gyulavari, on the Hungarian-Romanian border, there will be a demonstration at 1000. The Bekes county member-organizations of the Hungarian Democratic Youth League and the members of the Transylvanian circle in Bekescsaba do not wish to travel to the historical site at Arad, so as to avoid atrocities. Thus, they will bow their heads at the border in memory of the 13 Arad martyrs.

[Marvanyi] I am speaking with Border Guard Colonel (Jozsef Cukor), of the Boarder Guard National Command.

[(Cukor)] Beginning last night at midnight, 959 people left Hungary at all the crossing points into Romania. Of these, 103 were returned. This is an extremely large number; usually 5-7 percent, or even fewer, are returned daily.

The proportion of people sent back is particularly great at the Loekoeshaza railroad crossing point. They sent back 47 Hungarians from the Orient Express. Fifteen Hungarians who wished to travel to Romania aboard the alternating train leaving the country at 0630 all were sent back. No reason was given, just that their baggage was too big.

There also is a problem at Nagylak [word indistinct]. So far, as of 1030, 142 people have crossed there. Ten cars, with 30 people, were sent back between 0930 and 1030.

[Marvanyi] So in practice, does this mean that a Hungarian citizen going there will be sent back?

[(Cukor)] Well, so far, what is happening is that they let them across, but so far have sent back...[changes thought] One bus and about 20-22 cars—all Hungarian—have been set aside on the other side.

At 0900 this morning, the Hungarian consul from Bucharest appeared at the Nagylak [word indistinct]. He spoke with those in charge on both sides. He said farewell at 0930. Until that time, things had been moving continuously, but from that time on they began turning back Hungarians.

### Only Diplomats Allowed at Ceremony

*LD0610143889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] In Arad, only Hungarian diplomats were allowed to lay wreaths at the martyrs' memorial because Romanian police had closed off the area around the memorial. The authorities referred to the fact that a stunt car competition was taking place nearby.

On the town side of the Maros [Mures] River, hundreds waited in vain to be able to cross the bridge.

On this occasion, Romanian officials did not place flowers of remembrance.

According to reports, individuals who obviously wanted to travel to Arad because of the wreathlaying were not allowed in at the Hungarian-Romanian border.

## Straub Heads Delegation to GDR Celebration

*LD0610123489 Budapest MTI in English 1058 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 6 (MTI)—Headed by F. Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, a Hungarian state and HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] delegation left for Berlin on Friday.

Invited by Erich Honecker, president of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, the delegation is to attend the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the GDR.

The delegation includes Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Geza Kotai, head of department of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Erno Lakatos, Hungarian ambassador to the GDR, is to join the delegation in Berlin.

## CSSR Deputy Premier Meets Counterpart, Talks

*LD0610000789 Budapest MTI in English 2209 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 5 (MTI)—Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Pavel Hrivnak, deputy prime minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, co-chairmen of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak Committee for Economic, Technical and Scientific Cooperation, held talks in Budapest on Thursday. The discussions focussed on preparations for the forthcoming prime ministerial meeting. The sides exchanged views on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage, and some topical issues of developing bilateral economic relations, first of all industrial and agricultural cooperation.

Mr Hrivnak and his entourage returned to Prague late in the evening.

### Talks Continue

*LD0610093489 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Pavel Hrivnak and Peter Medgyessy, deputy premiers of the Czechoslovak and Hungarian Governments, met in Budapest yesterday.

The two representatives discussed some topical issues of economic cooperation and exchange views on the construction of the Gabcikovo- Nadymaros Danube water project. At the center of attention in the talks was the preparation of the coming meeting of the premiers of the two countries, Ladislav Adamec and Miklos Nemeth.

## FRG Provinicial Leaders Visit, Hold Talks

### Aid To Be Granted

*LD0510123889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Two FRG provincial leaders have arrived in Budapest. Max Streibl, minister-president of Bavaria, and Lothar Spaeth, minister- president of Baden-Wuerttemberg, were invited on an official visit by the Hungarian premier. There are several businessmen in the politicians' entourages. Shortly after their arrival, the West German guests began talks in the Parliament building. Peter Zentai reports on the Budapest press briefing held by the two FRG ministes- president.

Several hundreds of millions of marks now and probably the same sum within a short time: This is the pleasurable and most important result of the lightning visit paid by the highest-ranking political and economic-financial leaders of the FRG's two most dynamically developing provinces, Baden-Wuerttemberg and Bavaria. Right now an agreement is being signed in Parliament building's Cupola Hall, whereby the two provinces will provide credit of M250 million each to support their firms' investments in Hungary. In addition to this, a statement of intent reveals plans for a Baden-Wuerttemberg building to be established in Budapest. In concrete terms, this means that—organized by the Daimler-Benz firm, considered to be the FRG's economic giant—representatives of the provinces' medium-sized and small enterprises interested in investments in Hungary will be brought under one roof.

Now for another M500 million, which can be regarded as a sensation. I have learned from Lothar Spaeth's spokesman that Spaeth yesterday spoke on the telephone with—and received approval from—Federal Chancellor

Helmut Kohl. The outcome means that another M500 million will be given to Hungary by the Federal Government.

The spokesman resolutely denies that the money raining down on us might be linked to Hungary's allowing the East Germans to leave.

### Cooperation Discussed

*LD0510222489 Budapest MTI in English 1740 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 5 (MTI)—Minister-presidents Max Streibl of Bavaria and Lothar Spaeth of Baden-Wurttemberg arrived in Budapest on Thursday at the invitation of Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, in the company of several businessmen.

The Hungarian and FRG delegations held first a plenary consultation in the parliament building. Then Mr Nemeth and the two minister-presidents discussed the possibilities of further cooperation in the fields on culture, education, language teaching and manager training, while the businessmen held consultations with their Hungarian partners.

After the talks, Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary, Elmar Prasch, board member of Bayerische Vereinsbank AG, and Hans Dietmar Sauer, deputy president of the Baden-Wurttembergische Landeskreditbank, signed a 500-million-dm loan agreement. Tamas Beck, minister of trade, and Lothar spaeth signed a declaration of intent to set up a trade house of Baden-Wurttemberg in budapest.

At a press conference, Mr Spaeth said that both lander had a stake in expanding relations with Hungary. For this reason, the bank consortia of Bavaria and Baden-Wurttemberg granted a 250- million-dm loan each to finance the development and investments of JVS set up with the firms of the two lander. The governments of Baden-Wurttemberg and Bavaria assumed guarantee for half of the sum. The loan is mainly to finance the development of small and medium- size companies. The trade house is to deepen inter-company contacts, and provide offices for the new JVS. The house will be open to the Bavarian companies as well.

Streibl pointed out that there was not any connection between the loan agreement signed now and Hungary's approach to the cause of resettlers from the GDR. He recalled that the FRG had granted a 1,000-million-DM loan to Hungary even previously and talks on further support had started at that time. Mr Streibl announced that the federal government would complement the current loan by a further sum and undertake a kind of guarantee for it. The federal chancellor has just presented his related letter to those in charge. Commenting the fact that half of the loan was covered by bank guarantee, Mr Streibl said that the private sector also had great confidence in Hungary and hoped that this country would not only draw loans but also become an active economic partner of both lander.

In reply to questions on the GDR citizens who have resettled in the FRG, Mr Spaeth said: We would welcome if the concrete wall separating the two German states were dismantled one day and people could freely move between the two countries. We would be prepared to promote Hungarian-like reform processes also in the GDR. This would not exclude the long-term goal that one day we should live together as good Germans in a free Europe. Mr Spaeth said that no one should blame the FRG for receiving all Germans since this is laid down in its constitution. The attitude of the FRG cannot be labelled as a provocation since it complies with the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. Mr Streibl expressed the conviction that not only the mass exodus but also other events of the recent past proved that the desire for human rights and freedom have emerged even in the GDR. The FRG does not want to empty the GDR, he said. On the contrary, it wishes to contribute to the perspective of a free future in which the people do not want to leave their homeland and those who left now would perhaps decide to return.

After the press conference, Miklos Nemeth gave a lunch in honour of the guests.

Mr Spaeth and his entourage left Budapest on Thursday.

### FRG's Genscher Cited on Changes in Europe

*LD0510175989 Budapest MTI in English 1653 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Bonn, October 5 (MTI)—'In certain Central and East-European countries, the path of transformation and opening leads towards freedom, humanity, democracy and pluralism. This has triggered off a development to transform the Europe of contradictions and confrontation into that of cooperation and dialogue. The feeling of common responsibility is on the up and up. This development opens the way for confidence, disarmament and the creation of security structures based on cooperation. This makes for more secure peace in Europe. Hungary plays an outstanding role in this process,' said Hans-Deitrich Genscher, vice chancellor of the FRG and minister of foreign affairs, in an interview to MTI's Bonn correspondent on Thursday.

'The political and economic transformation, which coincides with the process of Europe's revival, deserves permanent support from the West. The Europe scheme involves granting economic and financial aid, first of all through investment guarantees. We can provide economic and financial special consult [as received] to contribute to establishing competent economic structures and far-reaching cooperation which could provide the basis for useful cooperation structures to the benefit of the whole of Europe,' said Herr Genscher among other things.

### FRG's Kohl Welcomes 'Historic Changes' Here

*LD0610000489 Budapest MTI in English 2128 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Bonn, October 5 (MTI)—Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, has taken a stand in favour of supporting the fundamental political and economic reforms of Hungary, and welcomed the profound, historic changes aimed at laying the foundations of human rights, pluralism, constitutional statehood and market economy in Hungary.

The chancellor's statement was set forth for Hungarian journalists by Federal Minister Hans Klein, cabinet spokesman. Mr Klein quoted Helmut Kohl as saying that the said reform process was accompanied by a foreign policy opening that deepened Hungary's cooperation with its neighbours.

During the terms of office of Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, Hungary, playing an active and balancing role, has become a factor of European stability. Its irrevocable decision guaranteeing the free movement of its citizens and serving Hungarian interests won great recognition and sympathy for the country all over the world. Budapest's attitude towards the national minorities and its approach to humanitarian issues could be guiding for a long time for other countries in central and Eastern Europe, Mr Kohl said.

The reform process has strengthened Hungary's traditional intellectual and economic relations with Western Europe. Its cohesion with the world economy has considerably increased although there are still many untapped reserves in cooperation with the West European states, particularly with the FRG, Chancellor Kohl said.

### Somogyi Leaves to Head Delegation at UN

*LD0510171489 Budapest MTI in English 1505 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 5 (MTI)—Ferenc Somogyi, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, left for New York on Thursday to take over the leadership of the Hungarian delegation participating at the 44th session of the UN General Assembly.

### Pozsgay on Presidency, Elections, Reforms

*AU0610102689 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German 6 Oct 89 pp 51-52*

[Interview with Hungarian minister of state Imre Pozsgay by Lucian O. Meysels: "No Crosses Instead of Red Stars"; date and place not given]

[Text] WOCHENPRESSE: This time you have come to Austria not only as minister of state but also as candidate for the Hungarian presidency. Is it your ambition to become the first "critical" head of state of a socialist country?

Pozsgay: This is not a question of personal ambition. The party nominated me as candidate.

WP: The Communist Party....

Pozsgay: The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. But during my contacts with the citizens I have also gained widespread support outside the party.

WP: Can you imagine running against Otto Habsburg?

Pozsgay: Actually no, because a presidential candidate must have full Hungarian citizenship. This means, he must not have any other citizenship (Otto Habsburg is a citizen of Austria and the FRG—the editors). But I would like to stress that I value Dr Habsburg as a renowned European politician.

WP: Are there other candidates in addition to you and, perhaps, Dr Habsburg?

Pozsgay: Some names have been discussed, but there are not yet any other official candidates. However, I am sure that I will not be the only candidate.

WP: What is the future political model in Hungary to be like?

Pozsgay: After the free elections we will determine our new path, in which all social groups will participate.

WP: Will all your party colleagues agree to this?

Pozsgay: There are probably some who are against it, but the majority is on the side of the reformers.

WP: Are you thinking of a Polish model for the forthcoming elections, with a certain number of seats being reserved for the current government party?

Pozsgay: No. We do not want any quota regulation, but completely free elections, at which every party has the same opportunities.

WP: And if the bourgeois parties win the elections....

Pozsgay: At free elections everything is possible. However, I would like to stress that the MSZMP—or better, the party that will succeed it—will do everything it can to win the elections by fair means. We will struggle for the majority.

WP: Do you mean an absolute majority?

Pozsgay: I mean a majority of the parties that are willing to cooperate with us. Of course, not all opposition groups will be willing to do this, but this is good. There is to be a parliamentary opposition.

WP: A united or a split opposition?

Pozsgay: I think that in the beginning there will be a variety of parties. Afterwards this will even out. Some parties will consolidate, others will disappear in the course of time.

WP: Do you think it is possible that the Soviet Union—alone or together with other socialist states—might interfere if the reforms or pluralism in Hungary go too far?

Pozsgay: No, I do not think so. The Brezhnev Doctrine is clearly a thing of the past.

WP: Many people, including representatives of your party, talk about Hungary's potential neutralization. Is this realistic?

Pozsgay: You know, I think that military blocs are anachronistic today. If the military blocs disappear, the problem of neutrality will not longer be topical. But Hungary will not take any unilateral steps as regards the country's membership in the Warsaw Pact.

WP: A sensitive question: What about religion in the "new Hungary"?

Pozsgay: We are in favor of complete freedom of religion. This is why we have abolished the Office for Church Affairs. As regards freedom of religion, of course, I do not only think of the Catholic Church, but of all Christian and non-Christian denominations. We have also eliminated the restrictions on religious instruction.

WP: And the primate of the party....

Pozsgay: We are against symbols. We will remove the red stars from the state emblems. Also from the top of the Parliament building. But we will not replace them with a cross.

WP: Is there a special relationship between Hungary and Austria?

Pozsgay: Certainly. It is based on history and tradition. But we do not need any formal treaties such as existed in the past.

WP: Would this special relationship change for the worse if Austria joined the EC?

Pozsgay: Not at all. Austria could serve as our corridor to the EC.

## SZDSZ Spokesman on Referendum Petition

*LD0510154389 Budapest MTI in English 1348 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 5 (MTI)—From the point of view of current Hungarian political changes and a peaceful transition, it is fundamentally important to make party organizations leave places of employment, to make the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] give an account of its property, to elect the president of the Republic only after the parliamentary elections, and to dissolve the Workers' Militia. This is what Ivan Peto, spokesman for the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), had to say in Budapest on Thursday.

These questions should be decided on by the people, he added, and so the SZDSZ had launched a petition joined by FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] and the Democratic League of Free Trade Unions. In the course of four days, ten thousand people had signed the SZDSZ petition calling for a referendum, and the preliminary indications are that the same number supported the action with their signatures between September 30 and October 4.

Under the law on referenda, 50,000 signatures are needed to have the issue put on the agenda of the National Assembly. Should 100,000 people demand a referendum, then one should be called without consulting the National Assembly, said Miklos Haraszti, an SZDSZ official.

SZDSZ spokesman Ivan Peto also said that the details regarding the person and function of the president of the Republic had not been made clear at the trilateral talks, so in effect, they had signed a blank agreement. SZDSZ feels resentful about the part of the agreement which says that candidates for the post should be put up within two weeks (between November 1 and 13). As the signatures of 50,000 people are a requirement, no one but the HSWP is capable of meeting it at the moment.

The SZDSZ considers it a breach of the agreements passed at the national trilateral talks that the modification of the penal code was not in keeping with them. Under the original areement the negotiating sides signed, criminal cases involving the police should have been transferred from the authority of military jurisdiction to that of civilian courts. The HSWP delegation had pledged to enforce the agreement at every forum, including parliament. In the process of amending the penal code, not one HSWP MP spoke up for keeping to the agreement, and it was ignored altogether.

Finally, Mr Peto said that the SZDSZ saw the middle of March as the best date for calling the parliamentary elections.

## Workers Militia Spokesman Holds News Conference

*AU0410143089 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 28 Sep 89 p 4*

[MTI report: "Spokesman on Attacks—Anyone Has the Right to Express His Opinion About the Workers Militia"]

[Text] "Ever since its inception, the activity of the Workers Militia has always been based on regulations and laws"—Workers Militia Spokesman Lajos Borzak said. With this statement, he reacted to the opinions declared by Istvan Szasz, member of the Presidium of the Association of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], and Levente Levay, official of the Kispest committee of the Association of Free Democrats, opinions declared in a statement given to MTI on behalf of the Association of Free Democrats and the Alliance of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] about the planned demonstration against the Workers Militia.

According to Lajos Borzak, they also made unacceptable declarations which contain untruths and distortions deriving from either lack of knowledge or deliberate intention. For example, they claimed that "the Workers Militia is not part of the legally conrolled armed forces." However, the truth is—Lajos Borzak said—that the Workers Militia was created by the Law No 13/1957 issued by the Presidential Council and adopted by the National Assembly on 9 May 1957. According to the spokesman, the current activity of this body is regulated by Defense Law No 1 of 1976, as well as by the government regulation No 49/1978 issued on the basis of previous regulations. Therefore, according to the spokesman, the relevant claims of the SZDSZ and FIDESZ are groundless.

According to Lajos Borzak, we cannot accept the idea that the Workers Militia is "the private army of the ruling party." As is well known, this body has already been guided by the Council of Ministers. There are also non-party members, members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Hungarian Socialist Democratic Party, the Independent Hungarian Democratic Party, the Independent Smallholders Party, and members of other organizations among those who serve in the Workers Militia. The workers militiamen do not question the right of any organization or citizen to formulate an opinion about this body. Lajos Borzak went on to say that, according to the information reaching the body, the citizens are shocked at the repeatedly incendiary tone used by the elements who are preparing the aforementioned demonstration. For example, in Gyongyos, leaflets signed by the local organizations of the SZDSZ, FIDESZ, and the Smallholders Party are abusing the Workers Militia for allegedly "being made up of murderers wearing quilted jackets and former secret service henchmen who agreed to betray their country" and joined by "besotted workers, deceived young men, and careerist functionaries."

Lajos Borzak pointed out that, both at their inception and today, the majority of members are mainly workers from large enterprises, and they make up 66 percent of the staff today, with 18 percent intellectuals. A similar tone was used in Sopron too, where one of the organizers of the demonstration against the Workers Militia said that "now we are not settling accounts with the workers militia but we have a showdown with them." [play on Hungarian words "elszamolunk" and "leszamolunk"]

Other towns also reported on threats and abuses directed at the workers militia. All these seem to contradict the peaceful intentions declared by the organizers.

### Opposition Groups Demonstrate in Kecskemet

*LD0510234689 Budapest MTI in English 2134 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 5 (MTI)—Some 350 people staged a peaceful demonstration before the headquarters of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the workers' militia in Kecskemet on Thursday. The demonstration was initiated by the local organizations of the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Federation of Young Democrats and joined by the Hungarian Democratic Forum. The local organization of the independent smallholders' party expressed its agreement. The speakers demanded equal chances for the opposition organizations, the dissolution of the workers' militia without any legal successor, the parties' withdrawal from the places of employment, the collection of weapons in private hands, and an immediate halt to the attempts at preserving the party's assets for posterity. They also demanded that the HSWP should give an account on its assets for the nation.

The organizers handed over a petition to Gyula Gal, secretary of the Bacs-Kiskun County Committee of the HSWP. They stressed that the timing of the demonstration was not aimed at disturbing the work of the HSWP congress. They rather wanted to help those who they think are the majority of HSWP members, and who also wish to see democracy in Hungary.

### National Assembly To Meet Twice in October

*LD0510101489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] The speaker of the Hungarian National Assembly has convened the next session of Parliament for the final day of the month. The legislators are expected to discuss a briefing on the state of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros investment. The session of the National Assembly, which was broken off in September, will continue in the middle of the month. Thus, Parliament will meet in session twice in October.

### Daily Reports Nemeth Interview to MTI

*AU0310095789 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Sep 89 pp 1,3*

[Interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth, by MTI-press correspondents: "Premier Miklos Nemeth Answers MTI-Press Questions—The Government Is Only Responsible to the Parliament for Its Decisions—There Is No Complete Understanding Among the MSZMP Presidium Members—The Council of Ministers Demands a Clear Strategic Guideline"—date and place not given]

[Text] Premier Nemeth gave the following interview to MTI-press correspondents:

[Question] Recently, people have been increasingly claiming that the government distanced itself from its own party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]; some mean this as an accusation, and others regard this as an achievement. Do you think this is true?

[Nemeth] One could put this question this way, but it would lead to a wrong answer. Everyone agrees that the party-state institution should be dismantled. The government did not move away from the party, but it has become an independent government political force, instead of an

executor of decisions made by the leading bodies of the party. In my view, the essential thing is that parliamentary democracy has been restored in the cooperation between the government and the Parliament. We did not wait for coalition times. This means that the government is only responsible to the Parliament for its decisions. However, as the majority of the Parliament is made up of MSZMP members, by this, the government has come closer to its own party, because the government succeeded in working out a constructive cooperation with the party's parliamentary representation. In addition, a multitude of signs prove to us that the party's reform forces also support the government's strategic guidelines and its actions. Therefore, we can notice rapprochement, and even close cooperation in these areas. However, it is not the fault of the government that the MSZMP leadership failed to work out proper contacts with its own representation in Parliament. In a parliamentary democracy, this would be the way of influencing and controlling the government. That is why cases could occur when the MSZMP supported the government only occasionally, and there was even opposition on local levels. I consider this situation to be intolerable and I will do everything possible for the organization after the upcoming congress of a renewed party which is aware that, at the elections, its fate as a governing party will depend on the government performance.

[Question] Your position as a premier is clear. However, you are also a member of the party's Presidium. Do you not feel responsible for this situation?

[Nemeth] Yes, I do. I accepted membership in the party Presidium in the summer because I believed that this way I would be more able to contribute to the demolition of the party-state. That was a mistake. I failed to prevent the various party forums from making decisions on various issues which were obligatory for the government. An example was the activity of the party organizations in working places. Of course, there were other problems too. For example, I was surprised to read in the NEPSZAVA that "the MSZMP Presidium ensured the leaders of the National Trade Union Council that they will support, with their own means, the government measures demanded by the trade unions, measures that are indispensable for the future of the trade union movement."

[Question] Why were you surprised? Did you not participate in the meeting?

[Nemeth] I did not participate in the third round of the negotiations, when the agreement was reached. In the first two rounds, my position opposed the agreement.

[Question] Why? The party Presidium can only come to a unanimous decision?

[Nemeth] Yes, precisely so. In the first meeting following the establishment of the party Presidium, we agreed that our decisions are valid only if reached in full agreement.

[Question] That means that there is still no full agreement among the Presidium members.

[Nemeth] No, there is not. We have had, and still have, arguments concerning essential, and less essential issues.

[Question] Would you give us an example?

[Nemeth] I have already given two examples.

[Question] Does that mean that you could give us more examples? After all this, do you still feel that you have a place in that body as a premier?

[Nemeth] Sincerely, I have long since stopped feeling that way, but I still believed in this when we established this body. Today, it is no longer worth thinking about a possible change, as the party Presidium will be soon dismantled because its mandate expires with the party congress.

**If the Wave of Bitterness Breaks Loose....**

[Question] There is also much criticism addressed at you, the government. Some people claim that the government is acting in confusion, and others claim that it is weak and keeps delaying decisions. What is your opinion about the government performance so far?

[Nemeth] I do not find it right to evaluate this myself. However, by all means I would like to mention a few facts. By taking painful measures that burden the living standard of the population, we succeeded in avoiding an imminent financial collapse at the beginning of this year. We were forced to take a similar step in June. In the meantime, we worked out a foreign policy and foreign economic orientation which became functional by the autumn and made it possible to maintain the capacity of our economy to function. At the moment too, there is a gigantic struggle going on for maintaining the capacity of our economy to function, and this struggle has been successful so far. It is mainly thanks to this that our partners, including the leading Western powers, show confidence in the Hungarian Government. One can see that, with our foreign policy steps that follow national interests and which do not hurt the interests of other nations, we have created conditions in which the Western powers are ready to support our government. We should now be able to make use of these conditions.

[Question] Will we be able to do that?

[Nemeth] I am confident that we will, and we are working toward that end. Our government is following a clear-cut strategic guideline also supported by actions. At the beginning of this year, the government had to accumulate political capital in order to organize its ability to maneuver. The government achieved this goal, and now it has manageable political capital. It is true that many people attack us, but we do not feel alone. Every day we feel the support of the people concerned for the fate of our country. This gives us considerable strength, and the extensive help provided by Parliament with its constructive criticism and encouraging guidelines has also increased this strength.

[Question] However, a lot of criticism has been addressed to this Parliament in recent months. Many people have even questioned the legitimacy of this Parliament....

[Nemeth] Naturally, everyone can do this, provided that he starts from the premise that "nothing is valid." In that case, the only subject left for debate is who regards whom as less legitimate than himself, and why. In other words, only advancement in cooperation and democratic transition can eliminate a lack of legitimacy. Mutual accusations can be neither our goal nor our means. This is all the more important because there is bitterness and disappointment in the public, as well as impatience and a pursuit of illusions. People are keen to have dynamic measures aimed at encouraging ventures, and they do not see that, under the current economic conditions, this can be done only gradually. Many people are warning us in advance not to introduce further price increases, because the people's patience is limited. I am aware of that, but I am confident that the people will understand that tough measures and price increases—the majority of which are not decided by the government—derive from our situation and not from the intentions of our government. I know that restructuring is accompanied by a lot of pain, and those who condemn us for this forget one thing: precisely the fear and uncertainty of previous governments, as well as their habit of marking time led us to this situation. Let us not ever forget that if the wave of bitterness gets loose and this wave is whipped up, we will lose all chances of restructuring.

**There Will Be A Coalition Government For Sure**

[Question] Some people blame the government for not having a program. Many people think that this is precisely the reason why the government is acting hastily. Others say that the preparation of a government program is an unrealistic venture from the outset, because this government will continue to be in office until June 1990 at the most. What is your opinion about this?

[Nemeth] I will answer this question first by asking a question myself. Do you miss the kind of program which, although they announced it, previous governments failed to carry out? We do not need such programs that contain demands independent of any place or time.

A program that stipulates demands "from above" does not suit the changing economic and political conditions. Besides, countries that successfully adjusted to the new international requirements have never adopted programs containing demands, but strategic guidelines and a series of actions that supported these guidelines. Therefore, our government has broken with the previous practice. Our government has strategic guidelines endorsed by actions. These are the criteria of consistency and order for us.

Our strategic goals are clear. Politically: The creation of a government and social order worthy of the Europe of our age. Economically: a market economy based on mixed ownership. Socially: a new type of bourgeois mentality. However, the implementation of these goals is extremely difficult. In our inherited difficult situation, many people expect miracles or at least measures that bring immediate results. Unfortunately, we must accept the fact that there are no miracles, and the "results" of sweeping things under the carpet for 40 years cannot be eliminated overnight.

We have started on this path. Considerable international forces and powers have appreciated and supported our efforts. One can notice this historical need from our current situation, and therefore it is our government's obligation not only to formulate this trend but also to implement it in its everyday policy. Elections will decide on the type of the future government. There will be a coalition government for sure, and I hope it will be a grand national coalition that will comprise all the relevant political forces. The task ahead is so complex that it exceeds the power of a single party. Of course, the coalition proportions are also important. One thing is certain: If it takes it upon itself to serve the nation, the new coalition government will not have greater freedom than today in selecting its strategic guideline.

[Question] This government is also criticized for its foreign policy. People say that this situation is dangerous when a country has distant allies and close enemies. What is your opinion about this?

[Nemeth] At best, I regard this as a total misunderstanding of our current situation; at worst, this opinion is nothing but a hidden form of attack on the reform efforts of our government. In any case, this is a gross simplification of our extremely complex foreign policy activity, the main characteristics of which are the following:

—in its foreign policy, the Hungarian People's Republic is catching up with the civilized nations in Europe;
—Hungary has broken with decades-old prejudices and dogmas concerning both its allies and outsiders and, instead of abstract ideas and demands, every day Hungary applies concrete steps and does a lot to prove that it is serious about its new political thinking;
—Hungary is making genuine efforts to work out a comprehensive system of agreements and contracts which could be an international "safety net" against going back to the old ways;
—Hungary accepts an open stand, and confrontation with domestic and international public opinion to make its position and efforts known and understood.

At present, notable powers in the East and West have not only declared their agreement with the reform efforts of the Hungarian Government, but have also provided concrete aid, accepting us as equal partners. We should not underestimate this readiness to help, because we have not met with such readiness for cooperation in this century.

As for the aforementioned close enemies, this is a fatal misunderstanding. We have new debates and areas of tension with our neighbors on decades-old issues. We had better talk openly about these issues and not keep

silent about them, as was the practice earlier. Thus, at least we have a chance to solve these problems. At the same time, we have firmly rejected any attempt to interfering in our domestic affairs, and we continue to reject such attempts. In this respect, our government has created a clear situation.

**There Is No Democratic Transition in An Atmosphere of Fear**

[Question] October 23 is approaching. Debates are already under way about the way this day should be remembered. There are people who want this day to be a national holiday and a day of rest; others talk about a Day of National Reconciliation. What is the opinion of the government?

[Nemeth] The government has not yet formulated its position, but it has already emerged from my personal discussions that there will be a big debate on the issue. There are various opinions on the issue, and this is natural. I do not want to influence the decision with my personal opinion, because this would not be correct behavior toward this body. However, I can say that, for various reasons, this day of 23 October is a day to remember for all Hungarians. No doubt, a popular uprising began on this day, a national uprising led by the need to do away with an inhuman Stalinist political and economic regime and by a desire for national independence. In this respect, we can list this day among the many struggles for national independence, struggles that have often been fought and always lost in Hungarian history.

[Question] In your view, what is the lesson of this uprising, a lesson that is still valid today?

[Nemeth] First: A small nation like ours can win its national independence only by means of a series of clever compromises, and not by armed struggle.

Second: We should always follow the development of the international balance of power and the foreign policy intentions of the big powers. Today, a further strengthening of our national independence leads through the reform of the Warsaw Pact. There is a chance for this now, and therefore we must work on this now and we must be aware that any high-handed action would only jeopardize this.

The attractive slogan of neutrality has surfaced again, and not without reason. However, we must consider the fact that neither the Soviet Union nor the United States are yet interested in this today, because this would upset the balance of forces in Europe and destabilize the area; therefore, no Western power is encouraging us to achieve this status. Neutrality is connected to the elimination of military blocs in Europe, and such neutrality will rest on firm foundations only if it also meets with the interests and strategies of the big powers, as well as guarantees provided by these powers. I believe that world affairs will allow the development of such neutrality for us in the foreseeable future.

Third: We must be able to defend the national independence which we have now achieved. We can do this only if we are militarily prepared for this, and if there is social consensus about the need to defend our national independence. The examples of Switzerland, Austria, and Sweden provide ample proof that, compared to our present level, neutrality would considerably increase our military expenditure.

Fourth: Anyone who instigates hatred or tries to denounce another Hungarian citizen because of his race, religion, nationality, world outlook, or ideology is only weakening our nation's energy and harming our international position. Therefore, our government should defend the Hungarian citizens from such instigation by making use of all means at its disposal. There can be no democratic transition in an atmosphere of fear.

Fifth: The government should strengthen the role of the integrative organizations that are above the party. The churches constitute such organizations, and the government has offered a strategic alliance with them in building communities and in defending moral values. The churches have accepted this offer. Another example from among such organizations is the local self-governing bodies; and the government—in cooperation with the National Assembly and the Patriotic People's Front, which is undergoing a renewal—is firmly initiating the development of such self-governing bodies. In a political sense, the democratic transition will last until the local self-governing bodies, the basic cells of a civil society, obtain a decisive position in the life of the communities.

[Question] Let us return to the events of 1956, and to something that was an indivisible part of these events: the role played by Imre Nagy.

[Nemeth] I already spoke about this at Imre Nagy's funeral. I would only add that, in my view, we can evaluate Imre Nagy's activity prior to 1956—either in Hungary or in the Soviet Union—only in connection with the acts of the other leaders of the Communist movement at that time.

I paid the last tribute of respect to the Imre Nagy who wanted national independence and reforms in 1956, and who was repeatedly deceived and betrayed after 1956, and who was executed totally without justification.

My position is unchanged. If the funeral were to be held today, I would be there again, because I am convinced that we will be able to renew ourselves at the upcoming party congress only if we consider those predecessors who:

—took up the struggle in October 1956 for the renewal of socialism and for national independence;
—began this struggle as early as 1953 by attempting to demolish the Stalinist model;
—prepared and introduced the reforms in 1968;
—prevented a total regression to the old ways in the seventies.

In connection with this, we should not forget the party members, reform forces, and reform circles committed to renewal who gained prestige and the appreciation of society through their deeds, work, and their impeccable moral stand. These are not special people, and they have always thought in terms of people and society, and have always been prepared for cooperation with their honest compatriots who love work and the family.

### Hapsburg Sees Role in EC, Not Presidency

*LD0410053489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 3 Oct 89*

[Text] Otto Hapsburg does not consider his nomination to the post of President of the Hungarian Republic as timely at this stage. However, the politician did not rule out the possibility of his standing at the elections at a later stage. The son of the last Hungarian king, Hapsburg is a member of the European Parliament. He believes that at this stage it is much more useful for Hungary if he makes use of his contacts within the Common Market than get entangled in Hungarian political life.

### Homeland Party Nominates Presidential Candidate

*LD0510223389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] The Homeland Party [Haza Part] nominates its own candidate, (Istvan Kutasi) as head of state. The governing committee of the political organization which proclaims the idea regarding the state of St Stephen, in its statement appeals to everybody to support its candidate for the post of the president of the Republic.

### Istvan Berecz on Goals of Smallholders' Party

*AU0410125989 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 4 Oct 89*

[Armin Wolf report on interview with Istvan Berecz, deputy chairman of Hungary's Smallholders' Party, in Vienna; date not given; Berecz statements in Hungarian with subsequent German translation in quotation marks]

[Text] The sensation had been announced but, as often happens, it did not take place after all: Otto Habsburg, son of the last emperor of Austria and king of Hungary, let it be known via his spokesman yesterday afternoon that at present he does not think that his candidacy [for Hungarian president] is possible. It was said that, basically, he did not rule out such a step, but this time Habsburg will not run in the elections. Even though, he would have had every chance of winning, Istvan Berecz, deputy chairman of the Smallholders' Party, thinks:

"I am convinced that, if the Hungarian opposition, the entire opposition, were able to put up one single person for candidate, anyone would be able to be successful against Pozsgay."

The reformist communist Imre Pozsgay is the Communists' candidate for the presidential elections and, at the moment, he is the favorite. The idea of asking Habsburg to run came from the local Budapest group, Berecz says, but no definite decision had been made by the party anyway. He himself is surprised about Habsburg's incredible popularity in Hungary. Now they are looking for a new candidate. Apart from this, the party has a lot of work to do, because about 1 year after the renewed founding of the party, which was once Hungary's largest party, many specific questions have not yet been cleared up completely. However, the ideological orientation is unambiguous. We are a traditional, national, bourgeois party of the center with a strong basis in agriculture, Berecz says. His model among Austria's parties is, naturally, the Austrian People's Party.

Economically, the party relies on privatization and free enterprise, in domestic policy on a pluralistic multiparty system and free elections. The long-term goal in foreign policy is neutrality. However, we have to take into account the conditions of power in Europe, Berecz says. This will still take some years.

What does he expect of the party congress of the severely quarreling Communists on the weekend [7-8 October]?

"I see a first chance for the fact that, (?after a split) within the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, the forces of reform will dominate."

Cooperation with the reformist communists is conceivable, Berecz says. However, the party would have to distance itself unambiguously from its past. The ultimate decision about this rests with the grassroots level of the Smallholders' Party, and the people there are skeptical.

"The people cannot yet decide whether it is a wolf in sheep's clothing or a real sheep."

At free elections the Communists will win 25 percent at the most, Berecz believes; the opposition will get 75 to 80 percent of the votes, in particular the three large groups—Social Democrats, Democratic Forum, and the Smallholders' Party.

Nevertheless, Berecz expects the Communists to be in the government after the elections: "There are ministries where a fast transition is simply impossible, as one can see in Poland."

A small coalition between the Communists and one of the current opposition parties is likely, Berecz says. He expects his own party with its 20,000 members to win at least 15 percent of the votes. Does he consider a setback to the democratic development in Hungary possible, like the one in 1956? The answer is clear and unambiguous: No, impossible.

## Government Spokesman Holds News Conference

*AU2809202489 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Sep 89 pp 1,3*

[Report by Correspondents Lenke Elek and Janos D.Kiss: "Council of Ministers Holds Session—Deported and Relocated People Will Be Rehabilitated—Deliberate Manipulations During the Criminal Investigation Against Jozsef Midszenty and His Followers"—Press Conference by Acting Government Spokesman Zsolt Bajnok"—in Budapest on 22 September]

[Excerpts] The marathon 2-day session of the government was still going on when Zsolt Bajnok began his usual news conference in Parliament on 22 September. [passage omitted]

Following his briefing, Zsolt Bajnok answered the journalists' questions.

HUNGARIAN RADIO: You clearly called the events of 23 October 1956 a popular uprising. Does the government intend to declare this day a holiday? Another question: You mentioned the upcoming meeting of Hungarian-CSSR premiers. The talks so far have not led to any agreement. Can we expect any agreement in view of the fact that the CSSR government commissioner in charge of this issue is also the architect of the Bos-Nagymaros river barrage project?

Zsolt Bajnok: As far as I know, at the moment there is no proposal on declaring the day of 23 October a national holiday on the government agenda. When such a proposal is submitted, the government will obviously discuss it as the beginning of a popular uprising.

As for your second question, our opinions have not come closer during the talks conducted so far, and the position of our CSSR partners proved to be quite rigid. Given the fact that several exchanges of views have already taken place, this fact suggests that, at least so far, objectivity has not been the guiding principle in formulating their position. As for the personal contacts, hopefully this will not exclude the possibility of successful negotiations. [passage omitted]

NEPSZAVA: What financial sources will pay compensation for the rehabilitated persons? Can former deportees and interned people who are now living abroad expect some kind of rehabilitation, at least moral rehabilitation? What about their descendants who were not allowed to continue their studies and get jobs?

Zsolt Bajnok: Here we are talking about a budget source. Therefore, we had to apply a method that does not differentiate. We would have to deal with sums of many billions of forints, and the country does not have that amount of money. As for the people living abroad, I am not aware of any discrimination on the basis of their place of residence at present.

REUTER: If we have understood things correctly, in the future the coat-of-arms will replace the red star. When will this happen and what kind of coat-of-arms do you have in mind? How long will the red star remain on the top of the Parliament building?

Zsolt Bajnok: The official coat-of-arms is the one that has a place on our public buildings. I cannot predict when the red stars will be taken down from Parliament and other places, because we also have to create technical conditions for this. There is an intention to carry out this stipulation by the end of this year.

KEPES 7: In connection with the deported and interned people, one hears round figures. It is difficult to believe that there were exactly 55,000 people, and not 55,114 people for example. Will the rehabilitation of these people take place centrally or individually?

Zsolt Bajnok: As for the aforementioned figure, this is the number of cases we succeeded in finding out objectively. Obviously, this is only an approximate number and this figure is smaller than the number of actual cases. Much time has elapsed, and it is difficult to find many relevant documents.

As for the method of dealing with the issue, the people in question can ask to have their pensions recalculated on the basis of the extra number of years spent as deportees. They will have to submit the document attesting to their rehabilitation to the bodies in charge of calculating the people's pensions. [passage omitted]

HELYZET: Rehabilitation of the people convicted in 1956 will be partially settled in the future, and so will their pensions, but what about those who condemned these people? What about their pensions?

Zsolt Bajnok: My personal remark about the "prosecutors" is that the moral background of this question is justified. However, in view of the desire for general consensus and cooperation, I would not start this snowball because it could become an avalanche.... [passage omitted]

### PAP Reports GDR Refugees Leave Warsaw

*LD0510233489 Warsaw PAP in English 2124 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 5—A special train formed by six GDR cars and two supplied by the Polish State Railways PKP carrying 633 GDR refugees who stayed at the FRG Embassy in Warsaw and centres outside Warsaw left the Polish capital today at 19:23 hours.

### Further on Departure

*LD0610011189 Warsaw PAP in English 2256 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 5—Another group of 633 GDR refugees who had stayed at the FRG Embassy and in various centres here and outside Warsaw, left by a special GDR train for West German today.

Most of the refugees were young people, under 30, some of them with small children, like for instance, Michael Neubert (30) from Thuringia who pins hopes for better life on his departure to the FRG. Three of his friends who also wanted to go to Poland had been detained at the Polish-GDR border.

In talks with Polish and foreign newsmen the refugees voiced their gratitude to Poles for their assistance. They talked about very good conditions they lived in during their stay in Poland.

Among the people going to the FRG there were also Poles, holders of consular passports, who married in the GDR and resided there for several dozen of years. They also decided to change their lives.

Representative of the FRG Red Cross Marie-Louise Ibrans underscored a very good cooperation with the Polish Red Cross in a talk to PAP journalist.

FRG'S Ambassador to Poland Franz Joachim Schoeller who bid farewell to the refugees told PAP: "It is really great what Poles did for us. Had it not been for their assistance, the embassy would have had enormous problems. Poles were also very helpful to those alien people, who had come here, in finding the way to the embassy."

### DPA Report

*LD0510190789 Hamburg DPA in German 1847 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—The special train carrying the 633 GDR refugees from Warsaw pulled out westwards at 1930 [local time] this evening. It will travel to the Federal Republic through the GDR and reach Federal German territory at Helmstedt. It is believed that the journey will take about 10 hours and the train will arrive in Helmstedt early Friday [6 October] morning and then travel on to Hanover. [passage omitted]

### Illegal GDR Refugees Arrested, Returned

*LD0510130889 Hamburg DPA in German 1213 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—A Polish Interior Ministry Spokesman confirmed in Warsaw today that Polish border troops are arresting GDR citizens caught illegally crossing the border and are turning them over to GDR border authorities.

The spokesman, Andrezej Szablinski, told DPA the assurance given by Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski that Poland would not send back any GDR Citizens against their will only applies to those already in Poland.

There is, however, an agreement with the GDR in which both states agreed not to allow entry by citizens of the other state who had been caught trying to illegally cross the border. Instead, the spokesman said, such people would be turned over to the border authorities of their country of origin. This applies to the entire border strip. The spokesman added that in the past few days there have been many cases of attempted illegal border crossings into Poland. He was not able to give precise figures of how many GDR citizens had been turned over to the GDR border authorities.

### More Refugees Arrive at Warsaw Embassy

*LD0610075289 Hamburg DPA in German 2309 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—A few hours after the departure of the refugee train from Poland to the Federal Republic new refugees arrived on Thursday evening at the embassy of the Federal Republic in Warsaw. Most of them had heard on the radio that the train had already departed on Thursday afternoon but hope that this train is not the last one.

### Delays at Kolbaskowo Frontier Crossing

*LD0510170189 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Despite extra staff being employed at frontier crossing points in the voivodship, people waited in lines for many hours last night for passports and customs formalities to be carried out. In Kolbaskowo, [frontier crossing point for the E47 highway from Berlin] the waiting-time was up to 12 hours. Up to the present, the line has only shortened slightly. This is certainly not pleasing private importers of cars who, we recall, have to pay three times higher customs duties as of today.

### Paper Decries 'Dilemmas' Created by GDR

*LD0210172289 Warsaw PAP in English 1425 GMT 2 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2—In a commentary on the departure of a train with GDR refuges from Warsaw to the FRG, the GAZETA WYBORCZA writes in part:

"For those 809 people who departed from the Warsaw railway station, Poland will be an important stop on the road of their hopes. We need the sympathy of these people. But no less do we need agreement with those who for various reasons stay behind in the GDR.

"It is they who will be our neighbours. Roads linking Poland with Western Europe pass through their state, we are linked with that state through economic cooperation. Today the situation in the GDR is such that who shows sympathy to its citizen's, risks a conflict with its authorities. A state which creates such dilemmas for its neighbours, wrongs first and foremost itself."

### Jaruzelski Receives Pact Meeting Participants

*LD0510194289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] General Wojciech Jaruzelski, president and head of the Armed Forces the Polish People's Republic, has received, at the Belweder Palace, the participants in the 40th meeting of the Military Council of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-states.

The commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces, General Pyotr Lushev, briefed the president on the results of the deliberations of the Military Council.

## King, Queen of Spain Visit Warsaw 3 Oct

### Jaruzelski Pre-Visit Comments

*LD0210185189 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 1300 GMT 2 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] Tomorrow, for the first time, the king and queen of Spain will be visiting Poland, a country which in the last few months has lived through a process without precedent in Eastern Europe. The day before this visit, which the king and queen begin tomorrow, the Polish head of State, General Jaruzelski granted a press conference to the special correspondents for this visit by the Spanish sovereigns. This is the first time in the history of the two countries that there is to be a meeting between the Spanish and Polish heads of state. We have a report from Warsaw. Good afternoon, Aurora Mingez.

[Minguez] Good afternoon. [passage omitted] Jaruzelski appeared before the Spanish journalists, shy and somewhat late, because he had just been opening the academic year at Warsaw University. Jaruzelski stressed that what is happening in Poland has a logic of its own, a logic which will lead to further general elections, this time absolutely free and democratic in 4 years' time. In addition it is an experiment in cohabitation Polish style—a communist president on the one hand a a Solidarity government on the other—with clear historic touches.

[Begin Jaruzelski recording in Polish fading into Spanish translation] It is indeed the case that this is a great, historic experiment, and we feel that all the country's political forces, all the significant political forces, consider that this solution is currently the optimal one. [end recording]

[Minguez] Jaruzelski does not want to hear talk of Western aid to Poland because it appears as if it were charity, and in the past it was not only charity but sometimes a pure loan with usury [sentence as heard]. In his opinion the country needs economic cooperation projects and on this point there are interesting possibilities of cooperation with Spain. The Polish President found himself obliged to defend his role as head of state. Don't believe that this is a soft seat, he said. I have to create the possibilities for Poland to be able to achieve full democracy. The system which Jaruzelski imagines, in quite a relaxed conversation with journalists, is a mixture of all the good things of the West and of the East as well, because he emphasized that not everything which exists on the other side of the Iron Curtain is necessarily bad. We do not want to resemble Latin America, he said, and therefore all the reforms we are undertaking are deep. We want to utilize, Jaruzelski added, all the values of the West, like democracy and economic efficiency, but we do not want to lose our socialist values.

That's all from Warsaw.

### Jaruzelski Greets Juan Carlos

*LD0410112389 Warsaw PAP in English 1937 GMT 3 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 3—The Spanish royal couple—King Juan Carlos I and his wife Sofia started their official visit to Poland today at the invitation from Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

A Boeing 707 plane with the royal couple aboard landed in Warsaw shortly after noon. The distinguished visitors were welcomed on the tarmac at Warsaw's Okecie Airport by President Wojciech Jaruzelski and his wife Barbara. Present were Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and other personalities.

At the beginning of his Polish visit, King Juan Carlos I laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier here.

Then President Wojciech Jaruzelski and his wife gave a luncheon in honour of the Spanish royal couple at the Belvedere Palace here. The luncheon was of a private character.

Late in the afternoon, King of Spain Juan Carlos I and Queen Sofia toured the birthplace of Frederic Chopin in Zelazowa Wola.

In the music room Juan Carlos and the queen heard the concert of Chopin's music in the rendition of Piotr Paleczny. Although the programme of the concert envisaged only three pieces, meeting the request of the queen, who is a great music lover, Piotr Paleczny played also the best known Chopin's composition, the Polonaise in A-flat major.

The royal couple signed in the visitor's book.

In the evening, at a ceremony in the palace of the Council of Ministers, President Wojciech Jaruzelski handed to Juan Carlos the Great Ribbon of the Order of Merit of the Polish People's Republic as a sign of friendship between the nations of both states.

The king of Spain decorated Poland's president with the Chain of the Order of Isabella the Catholic and expressed hope that his ongoing visit would become the beginning for a long, lasting friendship between Poland and Spain.

The ceremony was attended by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and other personalities. Present were also ambassadors of Poland and Spain.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and his wife Barbara hosted a dinner in honour of King of Spain Juan Carlos and his wife Sofia. Invited were representatives of leading political parties, men of culture and scientists.

During the dinner, Wojciech Jaruzelski and Juan Carlos delivered speeches.

The royal couple will continue the official visit tomorrow.

### President Toasts King at Reception

*LD0410112889 Warsaw PAP in English 2234 GMT 3 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 3—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski delivered a toast at a reception given in honour of King of Spain Juan Carlos I and Queen Sofia today. Excerpts.

No Spanish monarch has ever been the guest of our state so far. Thus, this visit is an event of particular importance in the ages' long history of relations between our nations.

Today Poland and Spain make their contributions to consolidation of all-European climate of detente, which clearly confirms the significant role of medium-size countries in co-shaping a modern, more democratic model of relations in Europe.

We appreciate Spain's international activity, and especially its contribution to the progress of the CSCE process. Also known is the personnel commitment of your royal highness to the construction of bridges between the divided parts of the continent.

The understanding and friendliness shown to us by Spanish authorities at this peculiar moment for Poland meets with a friendly response in Poland. Despite our membership in different political-military alliances there is our common will to raise bilateral cooperation to a higher level.

We have achieved good, encouraging results in political contacts. But economic cooperation is still out of proportion to both countries' potentials and the complementary character of their economies. We hope that the coming years will see a significant progress in this domain as well.

With great attention we have been following the ongoing processes in Spain which have resulted in such an important acceleration of the economic development in recent years. Your experiences in applying various economic instruments alongside maintaining the conditions of social stability generate broad interest in our country as well.

Exactly today, at a time of so many revaluations taking place in our continent, the enrichment of cooperation between Poland and Spain assumes particular importance. Roads of democracy are often different and different are its forms. But the equality of rights, respect for and mutual enrichment of various systemic—political and social—solutions is and should always be the characteristic of the European civilisational and cultural identity.

I am convinced that the visit of your royal highnesses, that the talks held in Warsaw will contribute to further tightening of friendship between our nations, to expanding Polish-Spanish cooperation in all fields, and to creative cooperation between our states in the international arena.

### Polish-Spanish Ministers Meet

*LD0510004989 Warsaw PAP in English 1900 GMT 4 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 4—Spain's Minister of Education and Science Javier Solana and First Foreign Vice-Minister Inocencio Felix Arias, accompanying the Spanish royal couple during their visit to this country, held today talks with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Secretary of State at Poland's Foreign Ministry Boleslaw Kulski.

The sides stressed with great satisfaction the importance of the visit by the king of Spain to Poland for the further development of all-round relations between both countries.

They also spoke about the need of continuation of dialogue at the level of premiers. Such a visit is expected in Poland. Next year Spanish ministers of culture and of defence are expected to visit this country as well.

Also planned is the appointment of a joint consultative body, the so-called Polish-Spanish Forum, like the ones functioning in relations between Poland and France, the FRG or Great Britain.

The talks also focused on economic cooperation which, in both sides' view, is insufficient and can be greatly developed. The Spanish side declared to increase its participation in economic aid for Poland.

These problems will be discussed at the coming session of the Polish-Spanish Mixed Commission for Economic

Cooperation, to be held in Madrid and attended by the Polish minister for foreign economic relations.

The participants in the talks also touched upon cooperation in science and culture. Both sides are interested in co-participation in EC scientific-research programs.

### Royal Couple Flies to Krakow

*LD0610063689 Warsaw PAP in English 2018 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 5—King of Spain Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia ended their official visit to Poland today and left Warsaw for Krakow after a farewell ceremony at the Larsacikecie airport. The ceremony was attended by Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

At airport in Balice the royal couple was greeted by Minister of State Jozef Czyrek and local authorities.

Next King Juan Carlos I and Queen Sofia and also their entourage visited the former Nazi death camp Auschwitz-Birkenau in Oswiecim, near Krakow. They toured an exposition at Block No. 4, featuring the collection of documents and exhibits depicting Nazi genocide at Auschwitz.

In tribute to the millions of the victims of Auschwitz Juan Carlos I and wife Sofia laid bunches of red roses at the death wall at Barrack No. 1—the death block, where Nazis shot to death 25 thousand inmates, and at the international monument to the victims of fascism in Brzezinka (Birkenau).

"Auschwitz is not only a horrifying and paralysing reminiscence of the past but also a lesson of history from which one conclusion may be drawn: never again," king of Spain told PAP.

The royal couple signed the visitors' book at the Auschwitz museum.

### Mazowiecki Message on UNCTAD Anniversary

*LD0610005189 Warsaw PAP in English 2334 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Geneva, Oct. 5—President of the Trade and Development Board Oscar de Rojas received today a message from Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of UNCTAD. [UN Conference on Trade and Development]

Aware that international community still faces a number of difficult economic problems, that growing indebtedness is the problem of particular acuteness, we should solve it within such a mechanism of cooperation that is based on common obligations and co-responsibility of all partners concerned, that is indebted and creditor countries, international banks as well as international financial institutions, the message reads.

Those problems cannot be solved without expansion of international trade based on just multilateral principles. UNCTAD should continue to actively participate in international dialogue conducive to finding a new consensus in the sphere of trade and development, Premier Mazowiecki wrote.

### Rakowski Receives Art Collector Porczyanski

*LD0610004789 Warsaw PAP in English 2311 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 5—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received here today Zbigniew Karol Porczynski, now on a visit to Poland.

The talk concerned the fate of the collection of paintings presented to the Polish nation by Mr. and Mrs. Porczynski who are lively interested in the collection becoming accessible to the whole society. This is connected with the necessity to ensure appropriate conditions of displaying it.

### Mazowiecki Chairs Council of Ministers Session

*LD0510234289 Warsaw PAP in English 2206 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 5, Poland's Council of Ministers chaired by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki debated here today on a preliminary draft on assumptions and directions of the government's economic policy.

An economic programme that we will present to society following that meeting, said Taduesz Mazowiecki opening the debates, is a difficult one but it is also a programme that gives a chance to improve and overcome the negative phenomena, not immediately but, as I said, in a year's perspective—to head Poland's economy towards better conditions, and in the following years—to enter the road of not saving it from a catastrophy but of development.

That difficult programme together with possible assistance from the outside will prove realistic, the premier continued, if in the same time basing on mutual understanding with society we manage to stir initiative, to overcome the feeling of hopelessness, the feeling that economic mechanism is deranged and that it has to be so.

After a many-hour discussion the Council of Ministers authorized Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz to present the government's draft to the public opinion. The authors of the document were obliged to take into account opinions and proposals voiced by members of the Council of Ministers in the discussion.

## NEWSWEEK Interview With Mazowiecki Noted

*LD0510235489 Warsaw PAP in English 2254 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] New York, Oct. 5—In his interview given to NEWSWEEK Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki stated that the fact that Poland's request for aid has been received with considerable interest in the United States as well as a qualitative change in Western Europe's attitude to the issue allow for thinking that "we may be breaking out of a vicious circle" of interdependence between reforms and foreign aid. The premier added that "there also appears to be understanding in the West of the importance of time."

Tadeusz Mazowiecki also said that "the most important thing is to take Poles out of this sense of hopelessness, and this is the task of this government. Everything depends on it." He added that there was already a certain awakening of hope and pointed to many manifestations of a readiness for personal sacrifice.

Referring to the weekly's remark on a senior communist party official's comment that "if the economy is clinically dead, we'd rather Solidarity were the undertaker", Premier Mazowiecki stated: "I must say I am rather surprised at statements like that. Everyone knows, after all, who caused this "clinical death". We do not intend to be undertakers. Another comparison is more accurate. We are all riders in a skidding vehicle, and we must put it on a straight course again," he concluded. [quotation marks as received]

## Mazowiecki on Threats to Democratization

*PM0610082089 Madrid YA in Spanish 3 Oct 89 p 4 (center supplement)*

[Interview with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Antonio Pelayo; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [introductory passage omitted] [Pelayo] Prime Minister, does the greatest threat to this delicate transition from totalitarianism to democracy come from inside or outside Poland's borders?

[Mazowiecki] The greatest threat is the very difficult situation in which we find ourselves. There are two dangerous factors: time, which is very important, and the impatience of people who expect rapid tangible results, which we know cannot happen. We face the following situation: to achieve—before these results materialize—a genuine transformation of the economy and a mobilization of people's social energy. This will be decisive in surmounting the crisis. If it does not happen, explosions of desperation could occur. The second threat stems from extremist attitudes. "Short circuits" could occur, for instance, when it comes to accepting changes in the administrative apparatus. We do not intend to carry out any purge, but it will be necessary to replace some people. There is no reason for excessive fears. In both cases, as you can see, the threats are from within the country.

[Pelayo] Have you considered the possibility of a military intervention in the event of a serious social crisis?

[Mazowiecki] As far as the Army is concerned, I have proof of its favorable disposition to political reforms. The Armed Forces want reform to take place in Poland and they clearly support the government. As for the so-called "hard-liners," these are the extremist forces that I mentioned earlier.

[Pelayo] Do you believe that both General Jaruzelski and the Polish communist party are willing to accept the new situation gracefully or are they awaiting an opportunity to regain their lost power?

[Mazowiecki] My contacts with President Jaruzelski since I assumed the post of prime minister have been good. I see in him a determination to contribute to the implementation of the reforms. This determination underlines the significance of the state. A change of mentality has come about: The state must become the supreme asset, above the Army, the Party, and the security forces. As for the communist party, it is experiencing a crisis because it has lost its power monopoly. My opinion is that all the political forces must redefine their role—and this applies to the former opposition, which has ceased to be the opposition. Of course it is more difficult for them: There are strong groups within the party. No political force naturally relinquishes power and it is natural that some will try to regain it. I believe that the grassroots have understood that an era has ended, that times have changed, and that it is necessary to behave differently. This does not mean that all those who belong to the "apparatus" accept this. It will be a difficult process.

[Pelayo] What role has the church played during these past years, and what should its "new role" be in the Poland that is now emerging?

[Mazowiecki] The church has had a crucial role in Poland as spokesman for human rights. At the same time it has acted as a stabilizing force. It has tried to ensure that controversies did not result in extreme situations offering no way out. This is how it has been in the past and it can continue like this in the present. My personal opinion is that its role can help the reforms to take place in a fair atmosphere that excludes revenge by one group over another and attempts to remove others from the political scene. It can help to create an approach to political life embodying a quest for principles and rules of coexistence and codes of public conduct so that we can all embark on a new era together.

[Pelayo] Having spent years underground and in opposition, Solidarity now occupies a prominent position in the nation's parliament and government. What consequences will this change have within the trade union?

[Mazowiecki] At various stages during its existence Solidarity has been both a trade union and a social movement in which very different people have converged. In the eighties it described itself as a trade union of all

Poles, though in fact it was not so. During the period underground and in opposition it brought together people of very different backgrounds whose unifying link [words apparently dropped] and the movement was more compact than at normal times. We must regard the differences within it as natural. Solidarity must grow and crystallize as a trade union. At the same time it was also a social movement: Other kinds of organization sometimes emerged within it and perhaps other political groups will be formed within it. I would suggest to foreign observers not to be surprised by this or to interpret it as immaturity. It is a natural and open process.

[Pelayo] We are witnessing the demise of totalitarianism, not only in Poland but also in other East European countries. To what is this phenomenon due?

[Mazowiecki] Totalitarianism is contrary to human nature. Sooner or later the latter tends toward freedom—a freedom that is expressed in everything and that materializes in the various aspects of personal and social life. This is the underlying root of the decline of totalitarian systems that we are now witnessing.

[Pelayo] The West, and even Catholic European countries, have not sufficiently appreciated John Paul II's contribution to this process. How do you assess it?

[Mazowiecki] John Paul II's election and his visits to Poland have had considerable importance from the moral and socio-moral viewpoint. We could describe his first visit in 1979 as the breaking of the barrier of fear. People saw themselves as joined in a huge mass; we realized that we could organize ourselves, maintain order and discipline, and ensure a proper atmosphere for the visit. This had an enormous influence—albeit perhaps indirect—on the events of summer 1980. Later, in the difficult years, the pope was the one who never stopped supporting our moral rights. He always talked openly about Solidarity and went as far as to say that solidarity [lower case, as published] was a Polish contribution to international agreement on human rights: This encouraged us greatly. His voice was very important to us. I believe that his style, his personality, and his way of talking as though addressing each one individually when addressing everyone made an extraordinary contribution to the changes in our recent history.

[Pelayo] The present transition cannot take place without the involvement of all citizens of goodwill. What role do you see for what we could call "honest" communists?

[Mazowiecki] The changes happening now in Poland were basically prompted by pressure from the population, the workers as a whole. Communist party members—the so-called "reformers"—also played a part in the development of this pressure. They facilitated the round table process and without their involvement things would have been different. Now they are confronted with the internal transformation of the party, and if they are doing this it is not exactly in order to commit suicide: We must ensure that there is room for everyone in this process of transformation and all of us together must initiate a new stage in our national history.

[Pelayo] On the eve of the King of Spain's arrival in Poland some people have stressed analogies between Spain's transition to democracy and the current process in your country. How do you view the comparison?

[Mazowiecki] My present situation is of course not comparable to King Juan Carlos'. It is perhaps similar to that experienced by many of the Spanish politicians who took part in the Spanish democratization process. Spain's road to democracy has been very interesting, but I do not believe it is possible to transfer it mechanically to Poland, if only because of our different social and geopolitical circumstances. What both experiences do share is something of their political nature and culture—the promotion of certain political changes for ethical reasons. Here the analogy is applicable to Pond.

[Pelayo] Prime Minister, many have stressed the danger that once the collectivist Marxist system has been abolished Poland will tend to assimilate a consumerist model of development, such as that of some West European countries. How do you view the matter?

[Mazowiecki] It is a very delicate matter affecting the entire nation, people's culture. With regard to this problem the government can only take more or less favorable actions in one direction or another. A new scale of values must emerge: It is not enough simply to favor the capacity for and enjoyment of consumption. This need also applies to other countries apart from our own: I am referring, for instance, to the scale of social values, everyone's concern, for instance, that there not occur pockets of such extreme poverty that citizens cannot aspire to other values more profound than purely material ones. I stress that governments are responsible for creating circumstances that will not hinder, but promote, a favorable atmosphere for loftier values. From this viewpoint, our Central European situation as a country midway between the East and West of the continent could become a positive experience not only for ourselves but for other European nations.

## Justice Ministry on Irregularity Allegations

*AU0410201389 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 Sep 89 p 5*

[Letter from Judge A. Cubala, press spokesman of the minister of justice: "The Ministry of Justice Explains"]

[Text] The ministry treats seriously and with a good deal of understanding the publication of articles which for the most part are critical and are based on a rather loose understanding of the way our system of justice is administered.

The most recent items were concerned with the prison system in Poland. The publication of these items coincided with the wave of strikes in prisons. These disturbances have now ceased and several agreements have

been reached which, in light of the new regulation due to come into force on 1 October on imprisonment and temporary custody, has meant the satisfaction of the greater part of prisoner demands. Other grievances are currently being considered.

Certain press items, however, need correction.

In GAZETA WYBORCZA (number 88) there appeared a letter from Ewa Chrzanowska: "The blind in prison." The ministry wishes to make clear that the writer's husband, Jerzy Chrzanowski, did have an accident at work, but after investigation it transpired that the needle embedded in his eye had not become so embedded as a result of this accident, but had been there earlier. The prisoner is refusing medical treatment and hospitalization. The prisoner is trying to obtain a furlough pass, but during the prisoner's last two furloughs he committed two serious crimes. The prisoner is a repeat offender.

In GAZETA WYBORCZA (number 84) there appeared, among other cases, a report of an ongoing criminal investigation in Bytom. After investigation of the situation, I would like to make it known that there are no people there who have been imprisoned for 4 years for the "theft of two chickens." People who are in temporary detention are not kept long at that prison.

There are, however, people who have been under arrest for about 3 years. I wish to point out that this case first came before the court in October 1986. There are seven people involved (3 of whom are repeat offenders) accused of burglary. The value of the stolen property is Z6 million. Up to now there have been 47 hearings and 10 adjournments, because the accused could not appear in court owing to the unavailability of a security convoy. These are difficulties over which the courts have no power.

Judge A. Cubala, press spokesman of the minister of justice.

### Walesa Sees 'Powder Keg' in Economic Situation

*LD0610003989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Because of prices, we are sitting on a powder keg today, but we have no way out, said Lech Walesa at his weekly news conference in Gdansk. If we are to restructure this system, we cannot do anything other than what is proposed in the economy. If we were to do nothing, it would be even worse.

### Says 'Too Few' Ready To Help

*LD0610004589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2322 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, October 5 (TANJUG)—Asked at his press conference in Gdansk today how much probable [as received] is an outside intervention in Poland, Lech Walesa replied that the Poles "seek to build a new world in which there will be no interventions like that."

In his words, reforms take rise from demands of the time and not because someone has a mind after them. We do not know only their real price and time for their coming to an end, but we do believe that we will do so in Poland without losses and conflicts, Walesa said.

If people's aspirations are braked, their resistance rises, Lech Walesa remarked while referring to the situations in Lithuania and the German Democratic Republic.

Europe does not see quite clearly what is going in Poland now, Walesa evaluated in commenting on discussions of economic aid. In his words, Poland is leading today in the matter of reforms in Eastern Europe. We are in search of new ways, but too few are those in Europe who are ready to help with building a new system not threatened by anybody, but which would instead serve the security of Europe and the Poles, the Solidarity leader said.

### Solidarity Executive Commission Issues Communique

*LD0610003689 Warsaw PAP in English 2201 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Gdansk, Oct. 5—The press office of the Solidarnosc leader conveyed to PAP today a communique summing up the two-day debates of the Presidium of the National Executive Commission KKW. The communique reads:

The presidium of the Solidarnosc National Executive Commission met in Gdansk on October 4 and 5. The Presidium held preliminary discussion on problems to be debated by the KKW. Draft resolutions have been worked out on participation of Solidarnosc representatives in the work of people's councils, on authorizing trade sections to sign additional provisions to collective labour contracts, on membership fees and family benefits, on financing Solidarnosc trade and branch sections, on appointment of a congress commission.

Adopted was a model draft electoral law for a plenary meeting of the Solidarnosc regional delegates. The Presidium voiced its stand on pluralism in the Pathfinders' Movement. It discussed the situation pertaining to retrieval of Solidarnosc assets now in the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] hands, stating that the present holder of the assets refuses to realize the round table settlements by hindering access to documents. A training programme was adopted.

Discussed were questions of authorization of the trade union to participate in distribution of places in sanatoria. The presidium was briefed on the course of prisoners' protest actions stressing that it is the government's task to find a way out from the present situation. The presidium resolved to continue to observe the resolution of the 1st Solidarnosc delegates congress on wages of elected trade union activists. Discussed was the issue of the union's access to mass media. The Presidium also considered proposals for a KKW stand on the current economic situation.

## Presidential Communique on OPZZ Law Dispute

*LD0410003689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Oct 89*

[Text] The office of the President has conveyed to us the following communique:

The public opinion was informed a few days ago about the stance of OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] Executive Committee to the president to dispute the law of 29 September this year On Changes to Implementation of State Budget in October 1989 and Change of the Budget Law for 1989 and some other laws. Among others, an accusation was made against the government that the drafts of these laws were not made available earlier to the OPZZ for it to pass its opinion on them. This criticism has been met with understanding by the president. The trade unions have, in the name of the defending social justice principles, a legal guarantee of consulting with them concerning draft laws that concern the interests of the working people, including in particular the wages matter.

This right should not be infringed even if the preparation of the draft is done under the pressure of time. The president also stated that the set of circumstances during which the legislative process took place makes it impossible to fulfil the OPZZ demand. The Sejm approved the law on 29 September by an overwhelming majority. Also, by an overwhelming majority the Sejm rejected the amendment presented during the debate to remove from the law Article 5, which concerns the payment in advance of of bonuses from the profits of this year. The next day, on 30 September, the Senate voted in this law almost unanimously, and the Senate speaker informed the president about it in the afternoon. Because the Sejm decided the law should come into force beginning 1 October, the president felt obliged to sign it immediately and to order it be published. The delay in the law's implementation would have caused many negative effects on the whole economy.

The unexpected application of the OPZZ Executive Committee was received by the Office of the President the very same day, on 30 September, in the evening, when the law was already signed. Here it should be explained that it is almost impossible for the president to withhold implementation of just a part of a law, that is, Article Five as disputed in the OPZZ application.

The aforementioned circumstances led the president to express regret that in a matter so important to the working people, the opinion of the OPZZ was not sought earlier to gain a fuller support for the government budget policy.

At the same time the president asks all trade unionists to show understanding for efforts aiming at bringing the difficult economic situation in Poland under control.

## OPZZ Calls for 'Round Table' Meeting

*LD0610010489 Warsaw PAP in English 2329 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 5—The All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ (National Trade Union Confederation) is receiving numerous messages with words of support after OPZZ's Executive Council announced several days ago its negative stand on the government draft law on indexation and on the provision depriving work establishment, through the amended budget law, of the possibility of advanced payments in virtue of bonuses and premiums from profits. Members of the council discussed today what line of action to take in this field.

The government forwarded to the Sejm a new draft amendment to the law on indexation which, in the opinion of trade union activists, demands a thorough analysis. It was decided that a meeting of the OPZZ Executive Council would be called on October 10. Prior to the meeting, OPZZ activists will hold negotiations with the government interministerial commission on the additional allowance in virtue of growing prices, which, according to them, should be much higher than the 15.5 thousand zloties paid in August. This would also mean the need for a greater increase of the minimum wage than that proposed by the government.

It was stated during today's meeting that if the stand on changes in the law on indexation of the OPZZ Executive Council will continue to be negative, than it will be necessary to manifest OPZZ's protest concerning this issues as well as the question of budgetary law.

The OPZZ Council called on the government to organize a "round table" with the participation of all social and political forces to prepare a social agreement dealing with efficient ways of bringing Poland out of the crisis.

The council adopted the principles for the setting-up of the organizing committee of the 2nd Congress of the OPZZ, which according to the statute should be held next fall.

The council also approved the stand of the Secretariat of the OPZZ Executive Council concerning Solidarnosc's property claims. The stand is based on provisions written down during the "round table" talks. This means, in the interpretation of the OPZZ, the handing over of union banners and symbols as well as documents. This has been carried out in 80 per cent. The OPZZ has also obligated itself to hand over to Solidarnosc 80 million zloties. At the same time, the OPZZ stated that it cannot meet other claims of Solidarnosc for they do not have any legal grounds.

## Jaruzelski Meets Poland's First Postwar Premier

*LD0510222789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Excerpt] President Wojciech Jaruzelski has received in the Belweder Palace Edward Osobka-Morawski. He was

the first premier in postwar Poland. He led the provisional government and the provisional government of national unity for 2 years. Today he is 80 years old. The president wished Edward Osobka-Morawski all the best and paid tribute to his achievements in life. [passage omitted]

### Wiatr Meets Polish Scout Union Instructors

*AU0510182389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Oct 89 pp 1, 3*

[Report by Piotr Lapa: "Slawomir Wiatr Meets Polish Scout Union Instructors"]

[Excerpts] Late on Friday evening, 29 September, Slawomir Wiatr, Polish United Workers Party Central Committee secretary, met members of the Main Board of the Polish Scout Union and Scout Union Board chairmen and troop leaders. The meeting took place at the Central School for Polish Scout Union Cub Scout Instructors in Olesnica.

The Central Committee secretary affirmed the permanent character of the party's attitude toward scouting: The party is interested in the Polish Scout Union as an organization that educates in a spirit of civic-mindedness and has discarded the form of an ideological organization. We are faithful to the principles that were put forward at the "roundtable." We defend the unity of the union and the unity of the scouting movement. [passage omitted]

There was no lack of personal questions during the meeting. The secretary was asked about what he, being a young man, felt when he was elected to the post of secretary in a party that finds itself in a difficult situation internally, and about what prospects he saw for rescuing the party's image among young people.

Slawomir Wiatr: "Under normal circumstances, I would probably not even have been an inspector. In the past, authority emanated from behind desks. I think that we young Central Committee secretaries are producing a qualitative change. Along with the entire leadership, we are developing a new system of norms governing the operation of the apparatus and its attitude toward party members, as well as conduct in the Sejm and cooperation with the community.

"People who have no experience working in the apparatus have been brought into the leadership. We do not want to conform to rules that represent decline. I find my work in the Central Committee a fascinating period in my life. After all, in a short period of time I have experienced what one would experience over years as a secretary in quieter times: the 'roundtable,' defeat (as a party) and success (personal success) in the Sejm elections, and the preparations for the congress.

"It is not surprising that few young people enter the party and that they do not feel that favorably disposed toward it. Socialism's political and economic mechanisms have proved to be ineffective and have produced a crisis. There has been a decline in the level of identification with the party.

"Will the attitudes of young people in 1989 remain the same for the next 10 years, for example? No, they will not, because the party has changed very much, and it has already done so today, but this has hardly been noticed by the public. The state of the economy is still the decisive factor. The party's appearance will change. We only have to strike the right balance between continuity and discontinuity. I think that if we manage to prevent a split before the 11th Congress, perceptions will change following what will be the congress of a new party, a new formation." [passage omitted]

### ZSL Prepares for Party Conference

*LD0410223389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 4 Oct 89*

[Text] [Presenter] Preparations are underway for the United Peasant Party [ZSL] congress. We were at the first meeting of the Congress Commisssion, whose discussions were joined with the ideological conference. What did they talk about? About the need to create one strong peasant party and about changes in the ideological declaration, in the statute and program. What kind of changes?

[Ryszard Miazek, not further identified] In the ideological declaration we are returning to the triple inspiration of world outlook, the ones which were always traditional in our peasant movement, that is to Christian inspiration, to a humanist inspiration, and to our inspiration resulting from the values of the peasant movement. In the program, however, we want above all to stress our attitude to general state problems. We want to show ourselves to really be a party which thinks in universal categories, state categories. However, in the statute greater emphasis is placed on the problem of internal democracy.

### Ceausescu, Delegation Depart for Berlin Ceremonies

*AU0610085489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0838 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 6/10/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary and president of Romania, left Friday, 6 October, for Berlin to attend the 40th GDR foundation celebrations.

The Romanian party and state leader is accompanied by Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, and other officials.

The party general secretary and president of the Republic was seen off by Mrs Elena Ceausescu, full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party's central committee, members of the CC of the RCP, of the State Council and the Government, executives of central institutions, mass and public organizations.

Siegfried Anders, GDR charge d'affaires ad interim in Bucharest and members of the GDR Embassy were present.

At 9.00 a.m. the presidential aircraft took off.

### Leaders Attend GDR Anniversary Reception

*AU0510201989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1859 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 5/10/1989—On the 40th foundation anniversary of the GDR, Herbert Plaschke, GDR ambassador in Bucharest, gave a reception on 5 October.

Attending were Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], vice-president of the State Council, Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, ministers, deputy heads of section at the CC of the RCP, executives of ministries and central institutions, mass and public organizations, generals and officers, scientists, men of letters, newspapermen.

In the attendance were diplomatic heads of mission accredited to Romania.

### 40th Anniversary of PRC's Founding Observed

#### Ambassador Holds Reception

*AU2909205089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2020 GMT 29 Sep 89*

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/9/1989—On the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, that country's ambassador to Bucharest, Wang Jinqing, gave a reception on Friday.

The attendance included Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister; Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, members of the bureau of the Grand National Assembly, ministers, executives of ministries, central institutions, mass and public organizations, of the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association, generals and officers, representatives of the cultural-artistic and scientific life.

Present were heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Romania. X X X

On the same occasion the consul-general of the People's Republic of China to Constanta, Su Yanwen, gave a reception attended by representatives of the local party and state bodies, of mass and public organizations, journalists.

#### Message Sent to PRC

*AU0310110189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Oct 89 p 1*

[Cable from President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu to Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; PRC President Yang Shangkun; Wan Li, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; and Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council]

[Text] To Comrade Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China [CPC]; Comrade Yang Shangkun, president of the PRC; Comrade Wan Li, chairman of the Standing Committee of the PRC National People's Congress; and Comrade Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council

The 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the PRC affords us the pleasant opportunity to extend, on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Romanian people, and on our own behalf, cordial friendly greetings and warm congratulations to you, the CPC, the PRC Government, and to the Chinese people.

As a result of the longstanding revolutionary struggle full of heroism and sacrifices waged by the Chinese people under their glorious Communist Party against imperialist domination and for social and national liberation, the proclamation on 1 October 1949 of the PRC ushered in a new era in the multimillenia-old history of China, the era of socialist revolution and construction, and

substantially changed the international balance of forces in favor of socialism and peace.

In the 40 years that have elapsed since the proclamation of the PRC, the Chinese people—by capitalizing on their great creative energy, by working with dedication and devotion, and by overcoming numerous difficulties—have achieved noteworthy successes in the construction of socialism and in more and more vigorously affirming China in the world arena. The Romanian people highly appreciate the extensive activity carried out by the diligent Chinese people under CPC leadership to turn their country into a strong and modern socialist state, and they appreciate the role the PRC plays in the international arena, in the struggle for peace, disarmament, security in the world, understanding and cooperation among nations, and the settlement of differences between states by political means and negotiations.

We wish the friendly Chinese people fresh and ever greater successes in socialist construction for the constant prosperity and flourishing of the PRC.

With particular satisfaction we note that the relations of friendship, solidarity, and fruitful cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples are constantly developing in all areas. On this occasion, too, we want to reaffirm that, by working together, in close cooperation, and in the spirit of summit understandings, relations between the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and the CPC, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the PRC will continue to develop vigorously to the benefit of the Romanian and Chinese peoples and in the interest of the general cause of socialism and peace in the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

## 'Triumph of Revolution' Hailed

*AU0410125689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Oct 89 p 5*

[Editorial: "The 40th Anniversary of the Proclamation of the PRC—a Great Celebration for the Friendly Chinese People"]

[Text] The friendly Chinese people are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the memorable event of 1 October 1949 when in Tienanmen Square in the center of Beijing the PRC was proclaimed in the presence of hundreds of thousands of representatives of the workers, peasantry, intellectuals, and Army, who had come from all corners of the country. Enthusiastically greeted by all Chinese people, this memorable event crowned the victory of the people's revolution and also paved the way for a new era in China's multimillenium-old history—the era of socialist construction.

The triumph of the revolution was the result of the struggle waged throughout scores of years by the people's masses under the glorious Communist Party of China [CPC] headed by Chairman Mao Zedong to eliminate imperialist domination and ensure the country's independent development, to eradicate capitalist and landlord exploitation, and to build a system of social justice. At the same time, the victory of the revolution was of great international significance and the proclamation of the PRC gave a fresh impetus to the peoples' struggle for national liberation, for independent development, and for progress and peace.

Inspired by the ideals of socialism, the Chinese people have achieved—under CPC leadership—profound revolutionary changes in their political, economic, and social activity. Through their dedicated and devoted work they have completely changed the image of their country. The forces of production have developed vigorously and thus numerous industrial centers and thousands of factories and plants have appeared, and large expanses of areas, once forsaken, have been incorporated into the economic flow. Such industries as iron and steel, machine building, automobile, tractor, aeronautics, petrochemistry, electronics, and electrical engineering are noteworthy achievements of the years of socialist construction on the basis of capitalizing on great underground resources. After the coal and cement output, China holds one of the first places as concerns power production. An extensive communications network has been built, is expanding, and is being modernized and this is of great importance for the national economy.

Noteworthy results have been achieved in the development of science and technology; a telling proof for this is the country's involvement in the study of the outer space, its capability to solve a number of problems—on which the country's further development depends—to an ever greater extent and under its own steam. Similarly, the extension of irrigation operations, work on big waterways, and more and more modern technical equipment for agriculture have led to agricultural yields that could not be imagined in the past. In turn, education of all grades and culture have vigorously prospered. On the basis of the development of the forces of production and of increasing the national wealth, the people's standard of living has improved considerably.

The Chinese people's accomplishments are all the more important as they were achieved under complex international circumstances and difficult conditions at home. Thus, these achievements demonstrate the great creative possibilities of socialism.

The working people in towns and villages welcome today's great holiday with sustained efforts aimed at implementing the program put forward by the 12th CPC Congress, which was given concrete shape by the subsequent National Conference and Central Committee plenums, on turning China into a powerful socialist state by the end of the century with a modern industry, agriculture, and science, and with an ever better standard of living. Within this framework, the aim is to increase the overall industrial and agricultural output—in terms of

value—four-fold compared with 1980 and, at the same time, to improve the structure of industry, better capitalize on the results of the scientific and technical revolution, and constantly perfect the management of all social activities.

At the same time, the PRC is asserting itself as a major element in the world political activity, in the promotion of the cause of the peoples' independence and freedom, and in the struggle for peace and progress, for understanding and cooperation among all nations.

The Romanian people, who have joyfully greeted the victory of the revolution and the installment of people's power in China, have followed and continue to follow the work of the great and diligent Chinese people with feelings of solidarity and friendship, and from the bottom of their hearts rejoice at the noteworthy achievements attained in development of their homeland. The events that are taking place these days in our country to mark the great event in the history of China are proof of the feelings of friendship and esteem harbored by the Romanian people toward the Chinese people and they are a telling expression of the durability of the Romanian-Chinese relations of friendship and solidarity.

Throughout the years of socialist construction, cooperation between our countries constantly developed at various levels by vigorously stressing the significance of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and comradely assistance, principles on which Romanian-Chinese relations are based in a stable manner.

The ties of close friendship and cooperation between the RCP and CPC and the constant contacts between them exert a major influence on Romanian-Chinese relations as a whole and, within this framework, an important role is played by the frequent meetings and talks held in Romania and China. Thus, the telegram sent by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to Comrade Jiang Zemin on his election as secretary general of the CPC Central Committee emphasized: "I want to express the conviction that the traditional relations of friendship and militant solidarity between the RCP and the CPC, based on full equality, trust, and mutual respect, and the fruitful collaboration and cooperation at various levels between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the PRC will continue to develop more and more vigorously to the benefit of both our peoples, of building the new system in the two countries, and in the interest of the general cause of peace and socialism."

At the same time, Romania and China cooperate more and more closely in the international arena by supporting the need to strengthen the unity of action of peoples in the struggle against the policy of force and dictate and for a constructive solution of the major problems of today in the interest of all peoples, thus contributing actively to the assertion of the policy of disarmament, independence, peace, and cooperation, and to the democratization of interstate relations, the elimination of underdevelopment, the establishment of a new world economic order, and to the achievement of a better and more just world.

The constant development of Romanian-Chinese relations of close friendship and cooperation, in accordance with the growing potential of the two countries and in keeping with the requirements of the current historic stage, constitutes an important factor of socialist construction in our countries and benefits the general cause of socialism, peace, understanding, and cooperation among peoples throughout the world.

### Andrei Attends Reception

*AU0410190489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1749 GMT 4 Oct 89*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 4/10/1989—On the anniversary of 40 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and People's China, the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association gave a reception on 4 October.

Attending were Stefan Andrei, Romanian deputy prime minister, Ion Popescu-Puturi, chairman of the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association, deputy heads of section at the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], executives of ministries and central institutions, representatives of the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association, men of letters, newspapermen.

Attending were Wang Jinqing, ambassador of People's China in Romania, members of the embassy.

In the addresses made by the chairman of the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association and the ambassador of People's China in Bucharest the importance of this event was evoked in the development and strengthening of the relations of friendship and close collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples, relations which strengthened and diversified continually. Stress was laid on the decisive role of summits in Bucharest and Beijing and of the agreements reached on those occasions in boosting these relations and giving new impulses to the Romanian-Chinese collaboration in all domains.

The same day, a Chinese photodocumentary show opened at the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, which features the new life and achievements of the Chinese people in the socialist construction.

### Press Marks Ties

*AU0510190689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1848 GMT 5 Oct 89*

["The Romanian Press Marks Forty Years Since the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between Romania and People's China"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 5/10/1989—Marking 40 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the People's Republic of China, the leading Romanian newspapers publish the congratulatory telegrams mutually sent by President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Yang Shangkun, inform about the exchange of telegrams between the foreign ministers of the two countries, the reception given by the Institute for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and by the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association as well as about the opening in Bucharest of a documentary photographs exhibition from the People's Republic of China. They run commentaries on the significance of the event and on the further growth of Romanian-Chinese friendly and cooperative ties.

The establishment of Romanian-Chinese diplomatic relations shortly after the proclamation of the People's Republic of China on 1 October 1949 raised the traditional links of friendship and militant solidarity between the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and the Chinese Communist Party, between the peoples of the two countries to the rank of state policy in their fight against foreign oppression and exploitation, for the making of a new, free and independent life, "SCINTEIA" shows underscoring that the event celebrated today opened the path for productive cooperation between Romania and China in the most diverse fields of activity.

The characteristic feature of the Romanian-Chinese links over this period has been the support the two countries have granted one another in the building of socialism and in their international activity. So, the efforts Romania made for the re-establishment of China's place at the UN and in other international organizations and bodies are well known.

Of special significance in the development of Romanian-Chinese relations was the fact that, from the very beginning, they were set on the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance, the press organ of the party mentions.

A decisive role in the strengthening of friendship and collaboration between the two countries is played by the links between the RCP and the CPC. In this framework, the summit meetings and talks occasioned by the official visits of friendship President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu paid to People's China as well as the visits to Romania of the Chinese party and state leaders have been each time moments of greatest importance in the evolution of relations between the two countries and peoples, opening up ever wider perspectives to a mutually advantageous collaboration.

The Romanian-Chinese economic ties have seen remarkable growth and diversification, the newspaper specifies. Adding to the material goods exchanges as a major factor of collaboration is the development of economic links, since for several years the two countries have mutually supplied complex equipment for the units that are part of their technological cooperation and cooperation in production. Gaining in scope, bilateral cooperation covers numerous spheres like energy resources, transport, machine building, metallurgy, chemistry, light industry and agriculture.

The commentary points to the broad possibilities of still more powerfully expanding bilateral links, more particularly economic cooperation as well as of further increasing and diversifying commercial exchanges. Cultural ties have also seen strong development. Mutual visits of delegations on a party and state line, between mass and public organizations, the exchanges of experience in various domains of socialist construction also expanded, all of them contributing to better mutual knowledge of the two peoples' achievements and concerns, to the consolidation of their friendship.

On an international plane, "SCINTEIA" shows, Romania and People's China cooperate actively in the struggle for the resolution of the major problems of our days in the peoples' interests, for understanding and collaboration among nations, for the settlement of interstate differences by political means, through negotiations, for the consolidation and assertion of the policy of independence, the building of a new economic order and the ensurance of mankind's progress.

The further growth of Romanian-Chinese ties of friendship and collaboration, in accordance with the belief equally expressed in Bucharest and Beijing, meets the foremost interests of the Romanian and Chinese peoples, of socialist construction in the two countries, the cause of peace and progress worldwide, "SCINTEIA" shows in conclusion.

There are numberless proofs of the fine Romanian-Chinese relations of collaboration, "ROMANIA LIBERA" writes in its commentary mentioning that the growing course of bilateral cooperation constitutes itself a productive balance sheet rich in content. The friendly links between the RCP and the CPC based on full confidence, mutual esteem and respect play a decisive role in stimulating the Romanian-Chinese collaboration as a whole and so do the meetings and talks between the party and state leaders of the two countries.

The Romanian-Chinese relations boast a solid material base, that is economic collaboration which sees continuous growth. In the spirit of the provisions of the long-term agreement on economic and technical collaboration between the two countries, both commercial exchanges and cooperation in material goods production expand. The continually growing economic potential of the two countries, the socioeconomic development programmes of Romania and China provide ever more favourable prerequisites for the expansion and diversification of collaboration in highly significant areas.

### Patan Attends Embassy Dinner

*AU0510205889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2000 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 5/10/1989—On the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and People's China, the ambassador of People's China in Bucharest, Wang Jinqing, gave a dinner on 5 October.

Attending were Ion Patan, minister of finances, Ion Popescu Puturi, chairman of the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association, deputy heads of section at the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], executives of other ministries and central institutions, newspapermen.

In the addresses made, it was shown that the establishment of diplomatic relations forty years ago, immediately after the proclamation of People's China, had been an event of outstanding importance in the strengthening and development of the friendship and collaboration between the two countries, parties and peoples.

It was underscored that a peculiar role in the consolidation and further diversification of these relations had the mutual visits and summits in Bucharest and Beijing, which, owing to the understandings reached, contributed decisively to the development of the Romanian-Chinese relations on multiple planes, to the benefit and in the interests of both countries and peoples, of the general cause of socialism progress and peace worldwide.

### Giosan Receives Costa Rican Parliamentarians

*AU0210200489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1843 GMT 2 Oct 89*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 2/10/1989—Upon an invitation extended by the Grand National Assembly, a parliamentary delegation from Costa Rica, headed by Anibal Gonzales Barrantes, member of the Bureau, first secretary of the Legislative Assembly, are paying a visit to Romania.

Monday, 2 October, the delegation had an interview with Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly.

On the occasion, information was exchanged on the activity and concerns of the two legislative fora, with emphasis on the contribution parliaments and parliamentarians can make to the development of the bilateral cooperation links in domains of mutual interest, to the promotion of a climate of understanding and peace the world over.

The guests also had interviews with executives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

The same day the Bureau of the Grand National Assembly gave a dinner in honour of the Costa Rican parliamentary delegation.

### Meets With British Parliamentarian

*AU0410200089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1906 GMT 4 Oct 89*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 4/10/1989—October 4, Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Romania, had an interview with Francis Newall, member of the Defense Commission of the Parliament of Great Britain, member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, now visiting Romania.

On the occasion, emphasis was placed on the contribution of parliaments and parliamentarians in the two countries to the development of the relations of bilateral collaboration, to the establishment of climate of detente and cooperation in the international life.

### Ceausescu Receives New Turkish Ambassador

*AU0410191489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1818 GMT 4 Oct 89*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 4/10/1989—On October 4, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received Tugay Ulucevik, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey to Romania.

On handing over the letters, on behalf of President Kenan Evren of the Republic of Turkey Ambassador Tugay Ulucevik conveyed warmest wishes of good health and personal happiness to President Nicolae Ceausescu and prosperity to the friendly Romanian people.

Highlighted in the address presented by the ambassador are the relations of friendship, collaboration and good neighbourliness established between the two countries and peoples and stress falls on the decisive part played by political dialogue and the summit interviews for the intensification of the Turkish-Romanian relations.

On receiving the credentials, President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed a cordial salute and best wishes of good health and personal happiness to the president of the Republic of Turkey and wishes of peace and progress to the friendly Turkish people.

Expressed in the address presented by the Romanian head of state was the satisfaction at the ascending course of the Romanian-Turkish relations and the ties between Romania and Turkey were mentioned to be a positive example of the way in which two countries under different social and economic systems and belonging to different political and military alliances can develop friendly relations of cooperation for the benefit of both states, of the cause of peace and understanding among peoples.

## Ceausescu Receives Outgoing Algerian Envoy

*AU2909193689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1809 GMT 29 Sep 89*

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/9/1989—On Friday, September 29, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received Mokhtar Kacil-Abdallah, ambassador of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, on ending his mission in Romania.

During the interview emphasis was placed on the relations of collaboration between Romania and Algeria and the wish was expressed to act for their further development in the mutual interest, in the interest of the cause of peace, international understanding and cooperation.

The Algerian ambassador warmly thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu for the support he was granted in fulfilling his mission in Romania.

## Foreign Minister Totu Meets UN's De Cuellar

*AU0210205189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1950 GMT 2 Oct 89*

["Exchange of Messages Between Romania's President and the UN Secretary-General"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] United Nations AGERPRES, 2/10/1989—Messages were exchanged between Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Javier Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary general, during the interview at the United Nations between the latter and the Romanian foreign minister.

The UN secretary general appreciated Romania's activity at the United Nations, President Nicolae Ceausescu's demarches, initiatives and proposals for the settlement of the major issues of the present-day world. Socialist Romania's determination was stressed on the occasion to further back the UN efforts for the consolidation of peace and detente, for the political, negotiated settlement of the tensions and conflicts, the eradication of underdevelopment and the consolidation of international economic collaboration.

Views were exchanged during the meeting on the issues in the current UN General Assembly session agenda.

## Leaders' Public Appearances for 23-29 Sep

*AU3009172389*

[Editorial report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 23-29 September period (source of each report given in parentheses):

Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, Political Executive Committee (PEC) Member Ion Dinca, and PEC Candidate Member Ion Stoian, attended a PEC Embassy reception in Bucharest on 29 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2020 GMT 29 Sep 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee in Bucharest on 23 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1001 GMT 23 Sep 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu received the DPRK chief of staff, Army General Choe Kwang, in Bucharest on 27 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1809 GMT 27 Sep 89) and on 29 September, he received a Zambian National Assembly delegation (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1804 GMT 29 Sep 89), a Palestinian parliamentary official (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 29 Sep 89) and the outgoing Algerian ambassador. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1809 GMT 29 Sep 89)

PEC Member Ion Dinca attended a meeting devoted to the PRC anniversary, in Bucharest on 28 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 28 Sep 89)

Nicolae Giosan, PEC candidate member and chairman of the Grand National Assembly, received a Zambian parliamentary delegation in Bucharest on 25 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1826 GMT 25 Sep 89) The same day he received a Palestinian parliamentary official in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1803 GMT 25 Sep 89)

Ion Stoian, PEC candidate member, met with Komsomol leader Mironenko in Bucharest on 23 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1435 GMT 23 Sep 89) On 28 September Stoian was received by Bulgarian Leader Todor Zhivkov in Sofia. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2006 GMT 28 Sep 89)

Foreign Minister Ioan Totu addressed the current session of the United Nations General Assembly, on 29 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1543 GMT 29 Sep 89)

Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade, met with Iranian economic officials in Tehran on 25 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 25 Sep 89)

## Loncar Assesses Nonaligned Summit Results

*AU0510214989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Sep 89 pp 1, 3*

[B. Oprijan, D. Vucinic, and M. Mlakar report: "People's Dignity Under Threat"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 21 Sep—The discussion at today's session of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia showed, as its president, Jelena Milojevic, said in the conclusion, that the latest social policy measures, which the Federal Executive Council proposed either as its obligation or as a recommendation to other appropriate organs in the country, are good and acceptable, provided, of course that their effects are felt as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

Before the procedural part of the session, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, spoke about the just ended nonaligned summit. He said, among other things, that the nonaligned summit was "somewhat above our personal, highest, and optimistic expectations." According to him, the summit represents the beginning of a new life and work in the movement. The summit therefore received very satisfactory attention and the support of the public and leading world factors outside the movement. Yugoslavia has received special recognition in the world and this makes it possible for Yugoslavia to regain its prestige.

The minister then pointed out six priorities: international security, which is linked with disarmament and solving hotbeds of crisis; the economic-social sphere; a struggle for eliminating the remnants of colonialism and apartheid; ecology; multilateralism; and the need for the world to unite on the bases of common existential interests, something that should be a duty of all to the same extent.

In the movement there has always been a faction that was too radically oriented and which from time to time generated and articulated the concept of "natural alliance." The other faction held the view that this kind of concept was forcing the movement toward pragmatism and even opportunism. There was also another faction which we called the defender of the original principles. This faction was by far the most influential faction but (because of the first two factions), it often had to be tactical and devote its concepts to the defense of unity in the movement, above all. Thanks to changes in the world, and to what was adopted at the Sixth Summit in Havana, when we resolutely dealt with the ideologization within the movement, the movement has emerged from the avenue of de-ideologizing international relations, Loncar said. Thanks to this kind of approach, the struggle for moderation in our approach to the world and in setting the movements's priorities, the summit ended smoothly and more successfully than was expected. As a result of this, we now have more documents that, judging by their content and form, contain more modern ways of approaching world affairs.

### Costs of the Summit

After the speech by Budimir Loncar, Marijan Kotar concluded that "our public was more interested in Al-Qadhdhafi's camels and escort than the content of the summit itself." He then asked about the total costs of the summit. According to him, the first reports last year on the cost of preparing the summit indicated that we will need $4.5 million. Last spring the costs soared to about $25 million, and then to about $30 million. Of course, later the costs went up even more. Kotar raised this question "because the Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People was discussing problems in the economy and social policy."

"How can we fund the summit and not do anything to produce a suitable social program in Yugoslavia? The costs of the summit could cover the costs for several thousand people—unemployed or those with low incomes—to live life as if they had had an average Yugoslav income for at least 1 year," Kotar said.

"The organization of the nonaligned summit (hiring the hall, interpreters, the timely production of all documents, receptions for the head and one other member of each delegation, transportation, etc.) cost nearly $6 million. Therefore, it perhaps cost less than it would have cost Yugoslavia to attend a conference outside our country," Budimir Loncar replied. He then spoke about some other costs. Unfortunately, some aspects of holding such conferences in Belgrade are undeveloped. As the third part of costs, Loncar mentioned security. Yugoslavia, which otherwise enjoys a great reputation for being a safe country, was not really materially and technically prepared to receive so many guests at the same time.

"Even without calculations, I can firmly state that our costs did not exceed our estimates, and as the federal secretary for foreign affairs I am responsible only for that. Everything else is outside my sphere of competence," Loncar concluded. [passage omitted]

## Loncar Addresses UN NAM Ministerial Meeting

*LD0410115489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2352 GMT 3 Oct 89*

[Text] United Nations, Oct 3 (TANJUG)—The problems of foreign debt, trade and the environment should have top priority in the actions of the non-aligned, Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar said at the United Nations this evening.

Loncar chaired the first ministerial meeting of the nonaligned after the movement's ninth summit held in Belgrade in September.

Assessing the results of the last summit, Loncar stressed that major results were achieved and conditions for strengthening the movement's influence on international life were created.

Readiness was expressed at the summit for dialogue and realistic and constructive cooperation with key international factors, Loncar said.

The immediate tasks of the movement, said Loncar, included a substantial headway in the settlement of the problem of Namibia, and called the ministers to negotiate towards reaching accord on the concrete aspects of sending out a group of representatives of 18 non-aligned countries to Namibia to oversee the November 7-11 elections. Also necessary, said he, was an accord on the time and place of holding a special session of the ministerial meeting of the non-aligned about Namibia.

Loncar then said that it was also necessary to reach accord on a joint participation of the nonaligned in the special session of the U.N. General Assembly dedicated to apartheid.

In keeping with the summit decisions on the Palestinian question, Loncar said, it is absolutely necessary that this session should still more strongly and in a more unified way call for conditions to be created for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East. In this reference, he said, the Security Council has a special role, and especially its standing members who are expected to act in harmony with their responsibilities.

As for economic topics, Loncar pointed out the need for all-encompassing accords on the development in the interest of the world economy as a whole.

This awareness gradually matures in many important circles across the world. The process of reaching this accord, however, will undoubtedly be complex and just as difficult as are the problems we are confronting today in international economic relations. This is why it is of decisive significance that we should act in support of reviving the dialogues with industrialized countries—said Loncar and added that the unique chance for this is afforded by the U.N. General Assembly special session on economic questions and development scheduled for April, 1990.

The ministerial meeting of Group 77 held last week showed the developing countries resolved to act—during the further course of preparations for the special session—in a unified way along the lines that essentially coincide with the commitments of the ninth summit and which can in the best way possible contribute to the success of the session, Loncar said.

Loncar also said that the success of non-aligned actions would largely depend on the movement's ability to become more mobile and, by demanding changes in the world, at the same time to be ready to change and adapt itself to newly created conditions.

Yugoslavia will continue to try and encourage new ideas and initiate an exchange of views on these questions in order to jointly reaffirm the democratic essence of the movement as well as the effectiveness of its appearance on the international scene.

## UN Meetings Reviewed

*LD0510004189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2108 GMT 4 Oct 89*

[Text] New York, Oct 4 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar met with his colleagues from 13 countries - Thailand, the German Democractic Republic, Zimbabwe, Bulgaria, Zambia, Israel, Mongolia, Ghana, China, Mali, Mauritania, Czechoslovakia and Iraq - in New York over the past two days.

Loncar's talks with his counterparts focused on the development of bilateral ties, with special emphasis on the promotion of economic cooperation.

Loncar and the ministers of Zimbabwe, Ghana, Zambia, Mali, Mauritania and Iraq also discussed the question of the further actions of the Non-Aligned Movement along the lines adopted at the Belgrade summit.

Loncar and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz held talks on the current stage of the Iran-Iraq talks and the possibility of the Non-Aligned Movement giving its contribution to a quicker settlement of the problem. Loncar also held talks on the same issue with Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati at a prior date. The Loncar-'Aziz talks also included the Middle East problem, with special emphasis on Mubarak's plan for resolving the Palestinian problem.

The Middle East was an unavoidable topic in [words indistinct] talks with his Israeli colleague Moshe Arens as well. The Yugoslav secretary stressed that the Non-Aligned Movement gave absolute priority to the resolving of the problem of Palestine. The movement will closely follow all the initiatives, and it would especially welcome a more flexible stand of Israel as a sign of new, changed relations in the world, Loncar told Arens.

Loncar and Arens noted that although Yugoslavia and Israel had no diplomatic relations, conditions existed for the expansion of some forms of cooperation, especially in the fields of economy and culture. Yugoslavia, as the chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, can play a significant role in the settlement of the Middle East crisis in which Israel is one of the key factors, the two ministers assessed.

Loncar and his colleagues from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic discussed the situation in Europe, disarmament and the forthcoming activities in the process of strengthening mutual confidence and security.

## U.S. Envoy Talks With Vojvodina President Kostic

*LD0510020189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1951 GMT 4 Oct 89*

[Text] Novi Sad, 4 Oct (TANJUG)—The forthcoming visit to the United States by the president of the Yugoslav Federal Government is coming at the right time and

the talks, which will be primarily concerned with promoting economic cooperation, will confirm the very good relations which exist between the two countries. This was noted by U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Warren Zimmermann during talks with Jugoslav Kostic, president of the Vojvodina Presidency on his first protocol visit to Vojvodina.

President Kostic, it was reported, acquainted his guest with the basic characteristics and special attributes of the multinational community of Vojvodina. Particularly emphasized was the province's concern for ensuring conditions for the affirmation of all the nations and nationalities living in this region.

There was also discussion of the views in Vojvodina on the economic and social reforms and the results which have been achieved in this sphere.

Ambassador Zimmermann was particularly interested in how Vojvodina views the forthcoming changes in the SFRY Constitution, in certain specific solutions and innovations in the economic system, and above all the liberalization of regulations concerning the investment of foreign capital and the strengthening of private initiative. There was also discussion of the forthcoming elections to the organs of the socio-political community.

The U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia was also received today by Jon Srbovan, president of the Vojvodina Executive Council. They discussed experiences in cooperation between businessmen from Vojvodina and the United States and the possibilities the latest changes in the law afford for the involvement of U.S. capital in the economy of the province.

Ambassador Zimmermann said that the United States believes the reforms under way in Yugoslavia are in many ways more profound than in other socialist countries and that he is sure U.S. capital will find an interest in investment in Yugoslavia.

Ambassador Zimmermann was also received by Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Vojvodina League of Communists Central Committee Presidium. Emphasis was placed in their talks on current political issues, it was reported, particularly the development of the democratic processes in the Vojvodina league of communists, in Vojvodina and Yugoslavia as a whole.

Nedeljko Sipovac informed the U.S. ambassador about the preparations for the forthcoming party conference in Vojvodina and for the LCY Congress. There was also discussion of the causes and results of the constitutional changes carried out, particularly in Vojvodina and Serbia. The two also discussed current questions of reform and the further development of the political system, particularly regarding further strengthening the role and influence of the individual and citizen in the system and human rights as a whole.

## Bulatovic To Head Delegation to GDR Festivities

*AU0610085889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Momir Bulatovic, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, will head a Yugoslav delegation to the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the GDR.

## Yugoslavs Prevented From Crossing Bulgaria Border

*AU0410171189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Sep 89 p 14*

[Unattributed report: "Yugoslavs Sent Back From Bulgaria"]

[Text] Although they crossed the Yugoslav-Bulgarian border at the Deve Bair border crossing without much delay, the Yugoslavs who were traveling to Sofia last Saturday had to stop their journey at Kyustendil. The policemen on duty at the Bulgarian border told them that they could not go to Sofia and that could only stay in Kyustendil. The passengers, who were mainly from the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, returned to Yugoslavia in protest.

When they inquired as to why they could not visit their relatives and friends, the passengers were not given an explanation.

A traditional border meeting between the citizens of the border cities such as Kyustendil and Kriva Palanka will take place tomorrow.

## Citizens' Mistreatment Questioned

*LD3009175389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1832 GMT 29 Sep 89*

["SFRY Assembly Session - Delegates Questions"—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpt] Belgrade 29 Sep (TANJUG)—[Passage omitted] When asked what measures against Bulgaria did the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs take in connection with the mistreatment of our citizens by Bulgarian border and customs organs at border crossings, which was asked by delegates Jovica Jovanovski and Zivko Vasilevski, Milovoje Maksic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, replied that the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs presented a demarche to the Bulgarian Embassy asking it for an explanation. Instructions were given to our embassy in Sofia to take energetic steps to prevent such cases in the future.

In connection with the question about what action will be taken concerning the decision of the Bulgarian Government on introducing a residents' tax for visits to Bulgaria, the spokesman for the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs replied that the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs had intervened in the matter and drawn the attention of official representatives of Bulgaria to the

damage such practice is doing and the unacceptability of such unilateral decisions. [passage omitted]

## LCY Presidency on Korosec Remarks to CPCZ

*LD0510042489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0314 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 4 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee (CC) tonight replied to Belgrade's party leadership that the secretary of this federal organ, Stefan Korosec, has recently held a talk with a Czechoslovak Communist Party delegation of Prague in keeping with the usual practice and decisions of the LCY CC Presidency concerning LCY's international cooperation.

The Belgrade city party committee on Tuesday criticized Stefan Korosec for telling the Prague delegation that dual stands existed in Yugoslavia towards the recently adopted amendments to the Constitution of Slovenia: Some stands assert that the Slovenian amendments create conditions for splitting both the League of Communists and Yugoslavia, while other stands claim that the amendments are strengthening Yugoslavia.

Korosec, one of Slovenia's three representatives on the party's 23-member executive organ, was reproached for not telling the Prague delegation anything about a session of the LCY CC at which the amendments to Slovenia's Constitution were censured.

The LCY CC Presidency, in its statement issued here tonight, said there is no reason either for questioning the integrity of personality of the LCY CC Presidency secretary, Stefan Korosec, or for unacceptable political qualifications that have appeared in the press concerning the debate at the session of the city committee presidency.

## BORBA Interviews Italy's De Michelis, Loncar

*LD0410141689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 89 p 1*

[Mirko Klarin report on the "exclusive" interviews with Gianni de Michelis, Italian minister of foreign affairs, and Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs: "Further Than Osimo, Wider Than the Adriatic"—place and date of interviews not given]

[Excerpts] Umag, 18 Sep—In the toast he gave at the dinner hosted for him by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti recalled a speech his famous predecessor and teacher, De Gasperi made at Piazza Unita in Trieste about 40 years ago. Speaking about the first postwar Yugoslav-Italian agreement on fishing (concluded in 1948), De Gasperi said:

"So now we made peace among fish. We now have to make it among the people, too."

To Andreotti, the silence that followed De Gasperi's words was persuasive proof of how "the peace among the people" seemed far away and unreachable from this postwar perspective. And then Andreotti made his point:

"For those among us who believe that life does not end with death, I will say that De Gasperi is very pleased today."

We do not know about De Gasperi, but we are convinced that all participants of the Yugoslav-Italian dialogue held in Umag on Sunday are pleased with it. In exclusive interviews granted to BORBA, Italian and Yugoslav foreign ministers De Michelis and Loncar have confirmed this.

### Further Than Osimo

De Michelis:

"I am very pleased," Gianni de Michelis tells us and lists three main reasons:

"The first reason has a more general political nature. For, as Premier Markovic has remarked, we have really found no motive not only for quarrels but also for disagreements.

"The second reason is that the meeting with the Italian community in Buje and Piran was very emotional and moving. I would say that from this angle, too, this meeting has opened a new historical stage. I believe that a good climate for the Italian community in Yugoslavia and for the Slovene community in Italy will arise from the good climate that exists in the relations between our two states.

"Third, I am pleased because Loncar and I have accomplished a great deal and have agreed on many specific and practical matters."

We remind De Michelis that it was in BORBA (in an interview published on 1 July 1989) that he launched for the first time the idea that the Yugoslav-Italian relations should enter a "post-Osimo stage," or rather that they should go "further than Osimo."

"This is true," De Michelis replies. "I also repeated this at the August meeting between Cossiga and Drnovsek in Venice, and now I notice that the phrase and the idea are also accepted by our Yugoslav partners. What does 'further than Osimo' mean? It means further in the sense that the Osimo agreements remain the supporting pillar, the corner stone of our relations, but that a step forward must be made, and in the context of the changed international relations and atmosphere, one should think more about all the specific forms of cooperation and its organization. This is what we have done here." [passage omitted]

### Challenge and Opportunity

Loncar:

The "good personal understanding" between the two foreign ministers is also confirmed by our Federal Secretary Budimir Loncar who says about De Michelis (whom he met twice in the past 40 days) that he "makes the impression of an extremely imaginative and very practical man, and these are two traits that rarely go together." Loncar met Andreotti, present premier and until recently Italian foreign minister, as many as six times in the past year, and he says that he is convinced that the pace of the meetings will be even speeded up with De Michelis.

We ask Federal Secretary Loncar: How do you explain, and what significance do you attach to more frequent Yugoslav-Italian meetings at a high level and at the highest level?

[Loncar] We both have obviously come to the conclusion that in this changed world which is establishing increasing, wider, and more intensive links, we must also elevate our relations to a new level, not only in order to keep pace with the times but also to anticipate its further course and development. This was stated in a concise manner in the Statement of Intent, or the so-called "Adriatic Initiative."

[Question] What in you opinion are the main traits of this "new level" of the Yugoslav-Italian relations?

[Loncar] I think that our understanding and cooperation with Italy have a multiple significance.

First, this is a significant shift that should stimulate the spread of cooperation in the Mediterranean.

Second, with this initiative we point out the models and possibilities of including individual countries in wider integration processes, through the development of bilateral and regional cooperation.

Third, comprehensive cooperation such as exists between our countries indicates new possibilities of links and cooperation beyond bloc divisions and outside political and economic alliances.

Fourth, such Yugoslav-Italian relations will, I believe, encourage understanding on the North-South line, too. Yugoslavia is a member of the Group of 77 and the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, and Italy, as a member of the "Group of Seven," the most developed countries, has even until now shown more understanding than others have for the problems of the developing countries, the problems that are getting increasing priority in the world.

[Question] All participants in the Umag talks and signatories of the Statement of Intent stress that the so-called "Adriatic Initiative" does not apply solely to the Adriatic and its two coasts, but to the two whole countries and even beyond—to countries that are turned toward the Adriatic basin. Why does one then persistently speak about the "Adriatic Initiative"?

[Loncar] The initiative has been called "Adriatic" because the Adriatic is our longest border and because this sea, as has been pointed out so many times, brings us closer and not farther apart. The geographic closeness of Italy and Yugoslavia, the complementary nature of our economies, and economic and other reforms we have begun, all represent a great challenge for Italy and an equally big chance for Yugoslavia. I believe that we shall use this chance.

Finally, this is a project that will not only make our relations more dynamic and give them a new dimension, but will also show that regional cooperation between Yugoslavia and Italy can represent a small but significant segment in broader European, and not just European integrative currents.

## Working Group Prepares for LCY Congress

*LD0510023789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1813 GMT 4 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 4 Oct (TANJUG)—A reform of the political system cannot be dictated by a single political center or organization; it is, in fact, possible only as a comprehensive project in which all progressive social forces will take part. In its approach to political reform the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] must therefore speed up its own transformation, Ivica Racan stressed today in an introductory report at the session of the committee for the preparation of the 14th extraordinary LCY congress. The main topic on the agenda was a proposal of theses for drawing up an ideo-political platform of the LCY's activity in changing the political system.

Speaking in his capacity as the head of the working group which drew up the proposed document which, together with a document on economic reform, will be discussed by the LCY Central Committee on 20-21 October before being submitted for public debate, Racan said the League of Communists should in no way act from positions of the monopoly over power and truth. On the contrary, it must stop acting as the party of the state. This will make it possible for the platform for changes in the political system to be formulated in line with the principle of full democracy in the LCY. [passage omitted]

Racan concluded by saying there were still many open issues, including those of political pluralism and relations within the federation, which are yet to be harmonized. For this reason the working group has decided to draw up theses alone and not the entire document. It is expecting the public debate to contribute to their clarification. [passage omitted]

Having explained in detail why, in his view, the proposed theses deserve compliments—which was the view more or less shared by other participants in the debate—Milan Kucan noted that the theses are nevertheless more an indication of "what we do not want than what we want." He criticized the fact that the theses make no reference to the need for a critical analysis of the practice of one-party system, that they are inadequately linked to

the document on the transformation of the LCY, and that there is a lack of appropriate commitment to main principles of democratic socialism and of the transformed LCY in it.

Kucan described the set of problems concerning relations within the federation as controversial. In his view, the key question is: What should be the main force for integration in Yugoslavia? He warned that the concept of the federation domination over the federal units is basically unitarist and negates the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia. The system should be built on the basis of the plurality of sovereignty (of man, of citizens, of a nation) and of institutional forms of the political system. [passage omitted]

Ratomir Vico said there exists a high degree of agreement over a whole series of important issues but that differences still remain about the nature of relations in the federation. Calls against change in this sphere sound unconvincing. He, however, does not think the differences justify so many conflicting situations and that it was possible to arrive relatively soon at an ideo-political platform for changes in the political system.

Bringing the discussion to a conclusion Milan Pancevski said that the LCY Central Committee Presidium also arrived at similar views when it recently discussed the same problems. The working group has approached its task seriously and in a active manner. The proposed theses are a good basis for drawing up an ideo-political platform of changes in the political system.

Of particular importance is a high degree of agreement on a number of major issues. By resolving the open and controversial ones we will be that closer to the final proposal for the platform. In conclusion Pancevski stressed that the working group should take into consideration all the proposals and suggestions made if the proposed document on the ideo-political aspects of changes in the political system are to be thoroughly and comprehensively considered at the next session of the LCY CC. This would be of great importance for unity within the LCY, too.

## Presidency Takes Steps Toward New Constitution

*LD0510011589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1725 GMT 4 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 4 Oct (TANJUG)—At its session today the SFRY Presidency endorsed a report on President Janez Drnovsek's participation and speech at the 44th UN General Assembly session. [passage omitted]

The SFRY Presidency also discussed the work so far on a proposal to embark on the process of adopting a new SFRY constitution. The SFRY Presidency has formed a special political, specialized working group comprising scientific and public personalities and experts from all over the country and relevant federal organs and organisations. The group will work on a proposed document to change the SFRY Constitution. The document will include an explanation of the reasons for a new constitution, the goals expected to be achieved by adopting a new constitution, and the principle directions of changes in the existing constitutional provisions. The SFRY Presidency must adopt the document first and is expected to submit to the SFRY Assembly by next month at the latest.

## Slovene Airline Office Attacked in Sarajevo

*AU0510162989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Oct 89 p 14*

[M. Lucic report: "Attack On Adria Airways Office"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 3 Oct—About 2300 last night, somebody fired a shot and made a hole in the window of the booking office of Adria Airways from Ljubljana in the Yugoslav People's Army street in Sarajevo. As we learned in the Adria Airways Sarajevo office, the bullet made a hole in the window, but nobody was hurt because the office was empty.

As it has been learned, the shot was first heard by a watchman in the Winter Olympic Games building.

The investigation is still going but we learned that about 1000 this morning an unidentified person phoned Sergij Princip, deputy chief and responsible editor of Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE, saying that he was a member of the illegal group "Yugoslavia" which claims responsibility for the "attack" on the Slovene office. This unidentified person, Sergij Princip said, told we that fire was opened on the Adria Airways office about 2300 last night, and that this was done by the "Yugoslavia" organization, as well as that this organization has already pronounced death sentences to Kucan, Smole, Vuk Draskovic....

Sergij Princip said that the unidentified person sai[illegible]ll this very quickly and then put the receiver do[illegible]id that this was all he remembers.

## Slovene Attacks Protect 'Incapable Leaderships'

*AU0510210889 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 2 Oct 89 p 2*

[From the "They Said So" column: "Inflaming Political Passions as a Mask for Incapable Leaderships"]

[Text] Dusan Semolic, secretary of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia, said at the 10th republican work competition of professional drivers and Yugoslav People's Army personnel:

"The latest events have again revealed how great the differences are in our motherland. While the delegates in the Slovene Assembly promulgate the constitutional amendments in keeping with the legal procedure, so as to strengthen the sovereignty of the republic, to build the urgently necessary safety devices into the republican Constitution, to offer additional protection to the

Slovene people, including protection against threats accusing the Slovene political leadership of counterrevolution, and threatening them with tank democracy and with exile to Philadelphia, nothing happens to all of those who shake their fists and utter threats. There has been no reaction to such threats from any federal organ, and even less from any republican one, not even a few days ago when Momir Bulatovic, leader of the Montenegrin Communists, joined in the calls to use arms to discipline the Slovenes. It is not that it is necessary to react to every word spoken against Slovenia. However, when it is a matter of a call to a bloody settling of accounts with another people, a call to massacre, it is right that those who indulge in such calls should know that their intentions are opposed not only to the basic values protected by the federal Constitution, but also to the basic civilizational achievements of mankind. The appropriate juridical organ should react to these words, if ever.

In these interrepublican conflicts, unfortunately everything is used that should convince the people of Serbia and Montenegro of the wickedness, ingratitude, and hostility of the Slovenes toward Yugoslavia. Those who sow hatred even make use of unsigned texts which are obvious contentious tracts published with the intention to poison the relations as convincingly and thoroughly as possible.

What if these superheated political passions are needed by the power-hungry big shots so that their peoples, their people, will not open their eyes and see that they do not need any enemies of one kind or another, and that enemies are forced on them to prevent them from realizing how incapable their leaders are, who push them deeper and deeper into poverty?

Is Yugoslavia not endangered by idleness, laziness, poor work organization, an expensive state, ignorance, inflation, living at somebody else's expense, and some other things much more than by the amendments to the Slovene Constitution? If we have to quarrel, let us quarrel about these matters. At least we will have the feeling that we are quarreling about real issues.

## Further on Slovene Constitutional Amendments

### Court, Amendments Viewed

*AU0510174189 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 5 Oct 89*

[Text] The initiation of the procedure to determine whether the Slovene and other republican and provincial constitutional amendments agree with the Federal Constitution is the only normal and legal way to assess the supposedly controversial amendments. In this way reason has prevailed over unreason, which called for arms and new meetings of people fomenting discord, so as to prevent an act that is both legally and constitutionally valid. Here is a commentary by Janko Saradzen:

The Federal Constitutional Court has clearly stated that it is the only body empowered to authoritatively rule whether the constitution of a republic or province is in conflict with the Yugoslav Constitution. Slovenia has been supporting this process at all of the heated night sessions, at which self-appointed judges were uttering threats and exerting pressure and were also making final assessments.

The Federal Constitutional Court opened the procedure yesterday by appointing the reporting judges. This was accompanied by a very proper statement by Dusan Skrbec, president of the court, who said that all of the eight examinations, and not only the Slovene amendments, will be given priority to the extent allowed by the work of the court. He also indicated the complexity of the procedure before the Constitutional Court, for they must accomplish several jobs, including making a comparative analysis of the amendments and the Federal Constitution, a study of the replies by the respective republics and provinces, a study of specialist and learned literature, and so forth.

This procedure also demands an examination of the previous constitutions and of the reasons because of which the framers of a constitution reached certain decisions; it does not demand only a reading of the text of the amendments.

Perhaps the only flaw, if we may call it so, is that the reporting judge for the Slovene amendments happens to be—by coincidence or by design—the judge from Serbia, the area which objected the most to the Slovene constitutional amendments. Of course we have no right to express our lack of confidence in this judge in advance. The reporting judge, with the help of experts, prepares an appropriate report on a given subject, which is then discussed on an equal footing by all of the members of the Constitutional Court. They decide by a majority of votes on what opinion they will forward to the Federal Assembly which initiated the procedure. The reporting judge otherwise has no powers greater than other members of the court.

It is difficult to say when the procedure will be completed. It may last several months. It is known, however, that regardless of the opinions of the Federal Constitutional Court or the Federal Assembly, there is no legal machinery that could make the decision by the Slovene Assembly invalid. Considering that what is at stake is the legal and professional aspects of the problem—although every constitution is also a political document—high professionalism is needed to resolve such kind of problems and, above all, a quiet atmosphere with a sober and constructive discussion.

### Judges Review Amendments

*LD0410130689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1021 GMT 4 Oct 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Oct (TANJUG)—The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia today considered the SFRY Assembly's demand for initiating proceedings to establish the

incompatibility of the amendments to all the republican and provincial constitutions with the SFRY Constitution. Since it is the Yugoslav Assembly that is the authorized proposer, the procedure has been in progress from the moment the Federal Chamber concluded that the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia should assess the incompatibility of the amendments to the republican and provincial constitutions with the federal one.

The SFRY Assembly's demand was appended to the agenda of today's session of the courts an addendum. The debate, however, was brief because once eight cases were outlined, reporting judges were assigned to each case in accordance with the court's regular procedure. Thus, the reporting judge for the case of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution will be Milosav Stijovic, (Serbia); the judge for the amendments to the constitution of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Hrvoje Bacic (Croatia); for the amendments to the Macedonian Constitution—Bozidar Bulatovic (Montenegro); for the amendments to the Serbian constitution—Bozidar Bulatovic (Montenegro); for the amendments to the Serbian Constitution—Milovan Buzadzic (Bosnia-Hercegovina); for the amendments to the Croatian Constitution—Krste Calovski (Macedonia); for the amendments to the Vojvodina Constitution—Omer Ibrahimpagic (Bosnia- Hercegovina); for the amendments to the Montengrin Constitution—Aleksandar Fira (Vojvodina); and for the amendments to the Kosovo Constitution—Branislav Ivanovic (Montenegro).

The reporting judges were assigned in accordance with the usual rota of assigning cases to the judges.

### Macedonian Party on Amendments

*AU0210172389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Oct 89*

[Text] The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia is deeply concerned about the political situation in the country brought about by the adoption of the disputed amendments to the Slovene Constitution.

At today's session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia, it was pointed out that the problems concerning the controversial amendments to the Slovene Constitution should be resolved by the appropriate organs of the institutions of the political system.

### Kosovo's Jasari Criticizes Slovene Trends

*AU2809123189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Sep 89 p 3*

[V.V. report: "Fuses Lit a Long Time Ago"]

[Text] Medvedje, 24 Sep—The 45th anniversary of the formation of the Fifth Kosovo and Metohija National Liberation Assault Brigade was solemnly celebrated today in Medvedje, in the heart of freedom-loving Jablanica. Mladen Zakula, the first military commander of this famous partisan unit, first reviewed a parade of surviving veterans, and then unveiled a monument formally commemorating the brigade's anniversary. Milivoje Milojkovic, president of the Communal Committee of the Federation of Veterans Associations, spoke at a great mass rally of several thousand citizens about the National Liberation War and the freedom-loving traditions of this ethnically mixed area, while Mladen Zakula and Boza Pavlovic, one of the organizers of the people's uprising in the Jablanica area, spoke about the brigade's war record.

Gani Jasari, president of the Pristina League of Communists [LC] Communal Committee and member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, spoke to the assembled citizens.

The nationalist and chauvinist fuses in Kosovo were lit long ago, but we suffered the most violent attacks in March this year, when counterrevolutionary forces of Albanian nationalists and separatists hurled themselves in the most savage way not only against the achievements of the revolution, but against Yugoslavia itself and its socialist integrity, constitutional order, and sovereignty.

Jasari said that even those very people who by all logic had the strongest duty to extinguish such a fuse unfortunately contributed to the act of lighting it. Maintaining the positions they had secured for themselves, they did not shrink even from pushing the people toward an interethnic abyss reminiscent of the most barbarous times.

Gani Jasari also said that Kosovo must be under the rule of law, and that this means that as much as possible must be done to secure the protection of constitutionality, legality, and full personal security and safety of property. The constitutional structure of the Socialist Republic of Serbia provides all the preconditions to achieve this, and this means that the optimism now also felt by Albanians is not unfounded.

Dr Gani Jasari admitted that the ideopolitical struggle being waged by the Kosovo LC is not encountering unqualified and equal support in all areas. We are in fact meeting large-scale resistance, obstacles, and difficulties. We are subjected to the grossest insinuations, the public is being deceived, and insolent lies are being spread; everything is being done to somehow stop us from embarking on the democratic and socialist changes that have been started. The leadership, which is united in its determination to restore interethnic trust and renew our community, is being called Stalinist, and Albanians in the leadership are being called Serbian poodles, traitors to the Albanian nationality, and the like.

Jasari said that the struggle that we have firmly embarked on to stabilize the political situation and improve interethnic relations is being increasingly incapacitated by the almost unceasing propaganda campaign from the north and west of our country against the present leaderships of Kosovo and the Socialist Republic

of Serbia. Malevolent and malicious interpretations of Kosovo not only undermine our current political line, but, with their open support for Albanian nationalists and separatists, increasingly put in doubt the further stabilization of the political situation. It has not yet become clear to individuals from these parts of the country that Kosovo is at last no longer a rifle range that can be used for target practice against others, against, for instance, another republic, its people, and leadership, by people who are cloaking their own desire for secession. The times are past, Jasari said, when, thanks to the former autonomous policies in Kosovo, separatist plans of different kinds could be hatched, and the Albanian nationality, where Kosovo was concerned, could be used as an excuse. Such tendencies have long been familiar and obvious, particularly in the events surrounding the adoption of amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

If a counterrevolution has taken place in Kosovo and has been partly extinguished, in the above-mentioned republic certain tendencies aiming to separate Slovenia from Yugoslavia are being legalized and openly supported, Jasari observed.

### Slovene Citizen's Greens Party Founded

*LD0510004589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2043 GMT 4 Oct 89*

[Text] Ljubljana, October 4 (TANJUG)—Slovenia's Citizens Party of the Greens was founded here this evening by renaming the Alliance of the Greens, a group acting so far within the Society for Healthy Life. The party of some 800 members now is trying to win seats for its delegates on the Assembly of Slovenia, a republic in the northwest of Yugoslavia.

To be found in Yugoslavia at present is a major number of the so-called alternative political groups more or less acting as an opposition to the official authorities. Slovenia's Greens are the first group to have officially constituted themselves as a party. At this moment, Yugoslavia's laws do not allow that other political parties be founded, i.e. ban to break its one-party system.

The Greens are for a sound and natural human environment, for society's development and progress by way of "an innocuous technology and alternative energy."

At their gathering here this evening, criticised was the inefficient Policy by all official organisations which should work on protecting human environment and improving living standards.

### Workers of Nis Clothing Factory Strike Over Pay

*AU0610133089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 Oct 89*

[Text] Nis—More than 100 women workers of the first shift of the Nis Kozara Ready-Made Clothes Plant, a part of the Nis Textile Mill, stopped work because of low incomes. The women have refused to have talks within the factory and have set off for the Communal Assembly building. Average monthly personal income in the Kozara Ready-Made Clothes Plant is 3 million dinars and wages for September have still not been paid.

### Vojvodina LC Presidium Appeals to Istra Workers

*LD0310132289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1653 GMT 2 Oct 89*

[Excerpt] Novi Sad, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—The Vojvodina League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee Presidium points out in today's communique the need for the active and constructive action of all working people and citizens to calm and stabilize the political situation in the Vojvodina municipality of Kula.

After the 29 September ultimatum of workers at the Istra metal frameworks factory in Kula, which demanded the resignation of the LC municipal committee presidium of this municipality, was not fulfilled, Istra workers today stopped work. At a meeting attended by about 800 workers, it was decided in a vote to go on strike pending the fulfillment of their conditions.

The reason for the stoppage is the conflict Istra workers and the LC municipal committee which has lasted for more than 5 months and which has resulted in the mass defection from the LC by the ranks of Istra workers.

The immediate cause for the Istra workers' protest meeting and today's work stoppage is the Novi Sad television program, "Panorama," which made a series of unfounded claims about Istra workers leaving the party.

The Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium believes that in this situation the work stoppage will not help toward resolving the situation that has arisen and it thus calls on the Istra workers not to stop work and in this way help to overcome the problems that have arisen. [passage omitted]

### Macedonian LC Debates Kostojcinoski Candidacy

*LD2909204489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0009 GMT 28 Sep 89*

[Excerpt] Skopje, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—The debate on the draft orientational lists of possible candidates for members of the organs of the Macedonian League of Communists [LC] and League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] from Macedonia took a quite unexpected turn at today's marathon session of the Skopje party organization; it was transformed into a clash that smacked of a settling of accounts between the highest party organization in Macedonia and the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium.

The argument broke out at the moment in the debate on the lists of candidates for the top positions in the Macedonian LC when Dr Svetomir Skaric, member of the Macedonian LC Central Committee, sharply attacked the moral profile of Vasil Kostojcinoski, president of the city committee Presidium. According to

Skaric. Kostojcinoski had not regulated the situation of his alleged tenure of occupancy rights to two apartments in the social sector, despite the conclusions of the Macedonian LC Central Committee on the realization of constitutionality and legality. Skaric said, among other things, that Dr Vasil Kostojcinoski, himself until recently a member of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium, was not included on the list of candidates for the top positions in the party organs for the forthcoming congress precisely because of this unresolved issue, adding that pressure was being exerted at the same time on certain basic LC organizations in Skopje to include Kostojcinoski.

This "bombshell," without greater argumentation and concrete facts, elicited a stormy reaction from the members of the city committee. A bitter debate ensued which lasted more than 8 hours and in which the committee members rejected such work methods and condemned the political pressure on the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium. They gave their president, Vasil Kostojcinoski, their full support and unanimously included him in the list of candidates for the top bodies of the Macedonian LC Central Committee. [passage omitted]

## Croatian Alternative Groups Plan 'Unification'

*AU0210085189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 1 Oct 89*

[Nebojsa Spajic report from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Excerpts] The founding of the Coordination Committee of the Croatian pluralist-democratic movements, which have announced a similar unification [ujedinjavanje] with the Slovene and other alternative groups which will attend the meeting in Otocac on the River Krka next week, is opening up many new questions. Here is a report by Nebojsa Spajic:

The answers to these questions will follow from working out what this coordination committee really represents. The unification of the opposition, whose representatives prefer to call themselves pluralists and democrats, is a new and up to now unimaginable factor on our political scene. We have not greeted this as a sensation, above all because this possibility has been announced by the experiences of other socialist countries, and because the unification of alternative groups is a logical follow-up to the situation in which alternative groups are allowed, even though not institutionalized.

The representatives of the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance, the Croatian Democratic Community, the Association for Yugoslav-European Cooperation [Drustvo za Jugoslovensko-Evropsku Saradnju], all based in Zagreb, and the Transnational Radical Party [Transnacionalna Radikalna Stranka] and the so-called Peacemaking Democratic Movement [Mirotvorni Demokratski Pokret] from Split, and the representatives of the initiative to found the Green Alliance [Savez Zelenih], who were only an observer because of their still unsettled status, agreed that the committee should only be a meeting place of completely independent subjects and not some kind of supercoordinating body or, as the representative of Tudjman's [Franjo Tudjman] Croatian Democratic Community, Neven Jurica, said: God forbid a directive organ.

There are very few common elements in the diverse political platforms of the above-mentioned movements, but they are clear and specific. Here is what some participants in the meeting told us. First Slavko Goldstein, chairman of the meeting and president of the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance:

[Begin Goldstein recording] What we think we have in common is endeavor, a striving for new democratic [Goldstein corrects himself] for improving democracy, that is to say for the adoption of a new law on elections, a new law on association. [end recording]

Vitoje (?Cesnabinski), member of the federal council of the Transnational Radical Party, said:

[Begin Cesnabinski recording] The common elements are very few and small. They are, above all, only the wish for democracy, that is to say, a wish for free political activities. As regards other points, in fact the majority of other points, I believe—I am not familiar with other programs, I am not a professional politician—I believe [Cesnabinski repeats himself] that I would not agree with the majority of them. [end recording] [passage omitted]

At the meeting itself we saw that what has united the Croatian alternative groups is relatively weak. The adoption of a short text of a joint statement lasted almost 4 hours. Discussions were held about every single formulation and the atmosphere was much worse than some parts of the federal party meetings. [brief recording of indistinct arguing] The difference were mainly visible in everything concerning national or, to be more precise, the Croatian or the Croatian-Serbian question. [passage omitted]

## Simic on Defending Country, Constitution

*LD0410090389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1420 GMT 2 Oct 89*

[Text] Zagreb, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—Petar Simic, president of the LCY Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and Col Gen Martin Spegelj, former commander of the 5th military district, were formally presented today in Zagreb with plaques by the Zagreb City Committee of the Federation of War Veterans' Associations [SUBNOR]. At the meeting of city veterans in a crowded hall of the JNA Club, Slavko Havic, president of the Zagreb SUBNOR City Committee, stressed that in this situation of crisis our army has preserved its unity and its Yugoslav and people's character. It has not submitted to national and republican divisions, and it has remained firmly on Tito's path, stressed Havic.

Addressing the veterans of Zagreb, Vice Admiral Petar Simic answered their questions on the current sociopolitical situation in the country, and stressed that attacks on the JNA were not an end in themselves, but had a deeper background and a more far-reaching aim. It is a question of an attack on the foundations of Yugoslavia, of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ], and Tito, warned Vice Admiral Simic. These are unsuccessful attacks, not just on the JNA, but on this Yugoslavia, stressed Petar Simic, pointing out that it was not just the JNA which would stand up to defend the country. It would be defended by millions of working people, to whom Yugoslavia means more than it does to certain bureaucratic elites. The JNA, Simic continued, together with the working people, is a factor for stability in the country, and not the JNA alone, as some are attempting to interpret it.

Answering a question with regard to claims by the army and the armed forces to the effect that the JNA would intervene with arms against those holding different opinions (in this respect the speech by M. Bulatovic at the meeting in Titograd was mentioned), Petar Simic noted that to him the "army and arms are too serious a matter for some of our politicians." It would be a good thing, said Simic, if they thoroughly studied our constitution and the responsibilities of the JNA.

The attacks on the JNA, Simic added, are not attacks by the people, but by some narrow groups which are very vociferous and which have their own goals. The imputation that the people are attacking the JNA is transparent. Many exercises, contacts, and ties with the people throughout our country prove the very opposite. The people stand alongside the army.

Today what constitutes the bases of our country is insufficiently defended, while the divisions which exist are hampering the common struggle. This must be understood, because it is high time—even within the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]—that this struggle obviously should be conducted in a more energetic and resolute way. In this way, it could be perceived in all political games what is what, and a line drawn differentiating between things.

Speaking about the constitutional changes, Petar Simic noted that it is vital to go ahead as soon as possible with the adoption of the new constitution, because some solutions in the existing constitution are evidently not satisfactory. However, he stressed, some people want, out of their own interests, to adopt positions from which they could get their views across more successfully. This is the result of divisions and distrust prevailing within the LCY. No moves, Simic warned, can be made which might lead anyone into an unequal position in our country.

Replying to a direct question on amendments to the Slovenian Constitution, Vice Admiral Petar Simic said that any one-sided policy or policy in the style of a fait accompli could not be understood as good. One-sidedness and exclusivity does not make any contribution to, or produce results in, policy, not even in those circumstances when it is a matter of changes to the constitution—in particular the republican constitution of the SR of Slovenia. We have expressed our stand and views in connection with these changes, and concluded that what comes into question is the competence of the SFRY Presidency regarding the use of the armed forces.

True, at the last moment changes occurred in an amendment relating to the use of the armed forces, because the armed forces are expressly not mentioned. However, this altered text says that no one can, without the consent of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia, introduce an emergency situation, nor can anyone realize any measures connected with an emergency situation without this consent. Of course, this is the same thing, Petar Simic said, pointing out that this is even worse. After all, this now relates to all measures, and the use of the armed forces is only one aspect of activity. Hence, we are not satisfied with this today either. We believe that this is one-sided, and is against the existing constitution, Vice Admiral Simic warned. He added that the Yugoslav Constitutional Court would of course be having its own say on this. Replying to a question on the increasingly open nationalism and chauvinism in our country, Vice Admiral Petar Simic stressed that these are the greatest evils for our society. However, these are not new phenomena, but the reaction to them is something which confuses people, causes disquiet among you veterans, and also among us in the JNA. We grew up in the army and developed in opposition to fraticidal warm, aware of what is meant by nationalism and chauvinism. The JNA is notoriously Yugoslav, precisely in terms of its composition. It can belong to no one separately and it belongs equally no more and no less, to all our nations and nationalities. Whoever appropriates it for himself is in this way attacking its because it essence is precisely brotherhood and unity. If, for example, at one point in time our stands seem to be in agreement with the stands of one of the republics, this does not particularly concern us. Whither the fortune, Simic said, that we are all in agreement on both principled and specific stands. The speculators, who seek something in everything which could be ascribed to the JNA as a particular inclination, will continue to remain speculators. Simic also stressed that the JNA would advocate that in the new constitution, all factors of the country's security unambiguously have their place, without pretentions of the JNA for example, becoming more important than the institutions of the political system. However, Vice Admiral Simic pointed out, we cannot accept a status as a depoliticized army, confined to barracks, and where politics is not our business either. There are, he said, very open efforts—known since earlier—encouraging us not to interfere in politics. Individual social groups are now already developing some programs on this basis. As long as the JNA exists as it is, it will have a role to play in political work because it came into being through the party, and it has always keenly followed and valued events in the political

sphere in order to realize its security task. We accept political pluralism, Simic continued, but only within the framework of the socialist alliance. However, we shall not accept any kind of political pluralism aimed at suppressing political life in the army. Petar Simic went on to stress that the JNA is respected in all environments. However, this respect and reputation have not been achieved by the army's effective efforts alone; contribution is also being made by a negative trend within some institutions and organs of the political system which should be more energetic and determined in defending our society's fundamental interest, and by implication, the JNA. Speaking about preparations for the upcoming 14th LCY Congress, Petar Simic stressed that there is no alternative but to come up with at least a minimum program as a rallying point for communists. If the program of preparations for the congress, which have already seen the light of day in Serbia, in Slovenia, and in Croatia, are analyzed more carefully, it is evident that there are no major differences between them. The 14th congress can be offered a set of single orientations in principle which should, however, be accompanied by goodwill, and an attitude which would exclude politicking and which would realize that it is Yugoslavia which is at issue. Petar Simic pointed out that there is no future in ultimatums, unilateral decisions, exclusiveness, or a policy of fait accompli. This cannot survive within the framework of a federal socialist community of equal nations and nationalities. Efforts are therefore needed, he said, to clarify what it is that is acceptable to the LCY. We can no longer continue along the path of blockades. In some cases there is no communication whatsoever between some leaderships. On the other hand, a large majority of LC members, the working class, and the working people, favor a number of programs, to be adopted by consensus, which would pave the way for reforms and which should be resolutely implemented. Numerous questions from the Zagreb veterans were also answered by Colonel General Martin Spegelj, former commander of the 5th military district, who stressed that the current position of the JNA bothered reactionary and right-wing forces. On the one hand, those forces attack it, and on the other hand they apparently claim it as their own. The answer is clear to everyone, Spegelj underlined, that just as the achievements of the revolution, the equality of nations and nationalities, cannot be destroyed, neither can the JNA. Spegelj spoke sharply about nationalism in society, which serves reactionary aims. He underlined in particular that that the JNA has succeeded in preserving unity and Yugoslav patriotism. This is a guarantee that the JNA will not sail on the ship of nationalism, said Colonel General Spegelj. He then pointed out that the JNA supports fundamental reforms because there is no alternative. In this context he said that the FEC should be supported. At the formal occasion of the Zagreb veterans, numerous tributes were presented by the city's veterans' organization to deserving individuals and organizations.

## Albanians Sentenced After Pec Protests

*AU0210131589 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 27 Sep 89 p 12*

[N. Sadiku report: "One Year's Imprisonment for Taking Part in Demonstrations"]

[Text] Pec, 26 Sep—The bench of five at Pec District Court, headed by Uke Mucaj, has sentenced Adem Grabovci (29), from the village of Staradran in Istok Commune, to 1 year's imprisonment. By participating in the demonstrations organized in Pec in March this year, Grabovci committed the offense of posing a counterrevolutionary threat to the social order under Article 114 of the SFRY Penal Code.

The court acquitted Sami Elshani (21) and Ismet Elshani (19), from the village of Ozdrim in Pec Commune, because of lack of evidence. Flamur Kelmendi, Pec District deputy public prosecutor, also did not press charges against Bekim Kelmendi (19), from the village of Labjan in Pec Commune, holding the view that there were no grounds for prosecution.

## Democratic Intiative Registration Rejected

*LD0310032389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1328 GMT 2 Oct 89*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 2 (TANJUG)—The authorities in Belgrade have turned down the application for the registration of the association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, an alternative political group formed by a number of intellectuals from Belgrade, Zagreb and othe Yugoslav towns.

The motivation given for the refusal to register the association was that the objective of the group, which was established in Zagreb, was political activity, which was said to be in contravention of article four of the law on social organizations and associations of citizens.

Saying that it would appeal to competent organs to review the validity of the decisions, the association's executive council pointed out that the Yugoslav legislature contained regulations which provided for the free association of citizens and freedom of political activity. The council also recalled that such norms also existed in the country's constitution and laws, and ratified international conventions. This is the second time in a month's time that the authorities have refused to allow the association to be registered—its application was also turned down in Zagreb in September.

## Opacic Sentenced to 3 Months Then Set Free

*AU2809202789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23-24 Sep 89 p 12*

[M. Zaric report: "Punishment With the Taste of Freedom"]

[Excerpt] Sibenik, 23 Sep—Jovo Opacic is finally free. The district court in Sibenik sentenced him—admittedly late the night before last—to 3 months in jail but immediately released him from detention. This really was a nice present for a 44th birthday and he should not "look a gift horse in the mouth" even though the sentenced man is "still obliged" to serve another 19 days in prison if the judgment comes into effect. This is what is left over when one takes away the 40 days he received from the Knin misdemeanors court and the time that he has so far spent in detention. This is of course if the district public prosecutor, Vera Bego-Macura does not appeal against the decision by the criminal council of the judge Senka Klaric-Baranovic, which we unfortunately could not discover because the prosecutor quickly left the hall after the sentence was handed down.

Thus, this political trial ended practically in the way it began and, it is now clear to everyone, in the way that it should have ended: with a sentence and punishment only for disrupting and interrupting the celebrations marking the 600th anniversary of the battle of Kosovo in Kosovo near Knin on the 9 June this year, and not for what Opacic said on that day. The accused was thus convicted only for "preventing or disrupting a public meeting" (for which he was also punished in the misdemeanors court) and not for "provoking national, racial, and religious hatred and discord or intolerance" and "injuring the standing of the SFRY." [passage omitted]

### Milosevic Pictures at Serbian Liturgy in Bosnia

*AU2809163989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Sep 89 p 3*

[M. Maric report: "In the Spirit of Brotherhood Among Peoples"]

[Text] Titov Drvar, 24 Sep—A ceremony was held today in the Serbian Orthodox Church of St Sava in Titov Drvar, which was built just before the war and was restored in 1965. The ceremony marked the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo for the Bosnian area of the Eparchy of Dalmatia. Metropolitan Jovan of Zagreb and Ljubljana, member of the Holy Episcopal Synod, was assisted at the celebration of the liturgy by Bishops Stefan of Zica, Amfilohije of Banat, Vasilije of Srem, Lukijan of Slavonia, Vasilije of Tuzla and Zvornica, and Nikolaj of Dalmatia, who at the start of the service appealed to the believers and citizens from the regions of Bosnia, Knin, Kosovo, Rogatica, Sipovo, Prijedor, and other parts of the country not to sing anything other than hymns that were an integral part of the liturgy. Fifty-thousand believers, working people, and citizens attended the ceremony.

The Belgrade lawyer Veljko Guberina acted as patron while the liturgy was celebrated in the church. In his speech on this occasion, he stressed the tremendous contribution made by the town and its surroundings to the National Liberation War, and mentioned all 14 of the national heroes whose busts line Hero Avenue in Titov Drvar, as well as members of the Federation of Yugoslav Communist Youth Regional Committee. He said that these names will be remembered for all time and until the end of the world.

I believe that we are in a district which would not wish to create for itself any other history than that which it has lived through, Guberina said.

Several banners were also in the spirit of this speech: "We will not yield an inch of Yugoslavia," "Incense spreads peace, not gunpowder," "Daddy, don't let war break out," and "Long live brotherhood and love among peoples," but there were also other, different ones: "Bosnia—Kosovo, the same destiny," and "Serbs have been persecuted enough." Among the icons, apart from symbols of religious significance, there were also pictures of Slobodan Milosevic. Religious dignitaries of other confessions, including Dr Franjo Komaric, bishop of Banja Luka, and Mufti Halilovic of Banja Luka also attended the ceremony. The celebration ended in a dignified fashion and without incident, but it was noticed that songs of hostile intent were sung in cafes. A folk celebration was also held during this event at Titov Drvar.

### Pancevski Meets Tito Center Graduates

*LD2509175889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1434 GMT 25 Sep 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—Overcoming the overall social crisis and a decisive orientation toward social reform is the main direction of League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] activity, and should contribute to the strengthening of the country's defense capability. This was stressed, among other things, by Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. In today's talks with graduates of the 106th class of the advanced course in all-people's defense and social self-protection, at the Marshal Tito Armed Forces Center for Strategic Research and Studies. Also taking part in the talks was Ljubomir Varoslija, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The graduates of this 1-month course are sociopolitical workers and officials from sociopolitical organizations, state organs, and work organizations from all the republics and provinces.

### TANJUG on Serbian Assembly Session

*LD2809182789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1452 GMT 28 Sep 89*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 29 Sep (TANJUG)—The proposed anti-inflationary package does not guarantee an end to the soaring increase in prices and the negative consequences they bring about. This is why, at its session today, the Serbian Assembly suggested that the Federal Assembly pass a comprehensive anti-inflatory program, since the consequences so far of the chaos in prices have assumed extreme proportions. At the same time it was

stressed that the Assembly does not wish to prevent by any means the adoption of these measures and thus thwart the FEC in implementing them. [passage omitted]

At its session today the Serbian Assembly endorsed a number of republican laws which will be applied uniformly on the whole republic's territory. These are the Law on All-Peoples' Defense, the Penal Code, the Law on Prosecution, the Laws on Pardoning, on Regular Courts, International Cooperation and the Law on Planning and Land Usage.

The Law on All-Peoples' Defense does not reduce, as the Executive Council's representatives pointed out, the rights and duties of the provinces in the sphere of All-Peoples' Defense. The provinces will continue to pass their laws on All-Peoples' Defense by which they will, in line with the constitution and the unified system of All-Peoples' Defense in the republic, regulate the rights and duties in this domain on the republic's territory. It was said that the Penal Code would contribute to the further resolving of the situation in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

## Serbian LC Criticizes Inflation Program

*LD0310102489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1943 GMT 2 Oct 89*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 2 (TANJUG)—The latest measures of the Yugoslav government are not enough to curb hyper-inflation and enable the country to overcome stagflation, the leadership of the League of Communists (LC) of Serbia said today, urging the adoption of a comprehensive anti-inflation program.

If the government's latest anti-inflation measures do not yield the desired effects in October and November, the Serbian trade union will demand its responsibility and resignation, the trade union President Tomislaw Milenkovic said.

The aim of the government's anti-inflation measures is to enable the establishment of the money, capital and securities market and set the economy on stable foundations. Thus the government denies further support to loss-making enterprises, and is trying to secure foreign financial support of at least one billion dollars to cover the losses in the banking system.

Despite criticism that even six months after coming to power the government has not yet found a solution for curbing the annual inflation rate of over 900 percent, the Yugoslav parliament adopted the measures last Friday which Prime Minister Ante Markovic described as the final measures for curbing inflation.

The Presidency of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, However, believes that Yugoslavia still does not have a suitable economic concept for overcoming its deep crisis. The proposed measures are somewhere akin to the Bolivian and the Israeli concept and do not guarantee success, it was said.

The Serbian party leadership supports the government in its efforts to tighten the control of the flow of capital in the country and realize the program of protecting the national currency. It also urges the full autonomy of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, but believes that it should be responsible to the Federal Assembly.

The Serbian party presidency today also discussed a document on the transformation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and came out in favor of pluralism of ideas and actions, but against a multi-party system. As far as the organization of the federal party is concerned, the Serbian party presidency urged democratic centralism and majority decision, and opposed consensus. Not questioning the right of a minority to defend its stands, it was against the creation of factions. It supported the proposals on the election of an executive-political organ of the LCY Central Committee and its president at the special 14th Party Congress, to be held early next year.

## Marendic Interviewed on Anti-Inflation Measures

*AU2809163389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Sep 89 p 3*

[Djoko Kesic interview with Bozidar Marendic, director of the Federal Social Planning Institute: "Either a Program or Resignation," date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Bozidar Marendic, director of the Federal Social Planning Institute, recently announced at the SFRY Assembly that if the delegates to the two chambers of the SFRY Assembly do not accept the Federal Government's program of anti-inflation measures, he personally would propose that the Federal Executive Council [FEC] tender its resignation. Two days later, Ante Markovic, president of the FEC, allegedly said, according to some media interpretations, that the Federal Government does not intend to submit its resignation. We asked Bozidar Marendic what had immediately prompted his statement and asked about the alleged collision between his views and those of Ante Markovic.

[Marendic] There is no collision. Markovic said that to the extent that the program collapses, the Federal Government will also collapse. It is therefore a matter of looking for the misunderstanding among the media. I have put forward my personal view, and still hold by it, that the FEC should submit its resignation if its program is rejected, for the simple reason that I would not like to work together with this FEC according to somebody else's program—a program that might be changed here in the SFRY Assembly. In my view, the FEC would not be able to stand by a program that is not its own.

[Kesic] This, however, is not the only reason for your determined stand.

[Marendic] Of course not. There are many reasons, of which two are the most important. I want to state these, because, if this Government does fall, I would not wish to bear an iota of responsibility for all the possible

repercussions that this event might entail. The basis for this reasoning is my belief that this program really is a good one, and that it is the most appropriate one for the situation in which the Yugoslav economy and society as a whole presently find themselves. I participated in compiling this program and am strongly convinced that it is a way out of the crisis.

[Kesic] The delegates' discussions begin today at the SFRY Assembly on the FEC's package of anti-inflation measures and the laws required by this package. Does the Federal Government have any indication of how the discussion will proceed?

[Marendic] I personally know nothing about this. The expert knowledge of the delegates and Yugoslav public opinion will have to judge this. The views of economists heard at the Zagreb Trade Fair are very impressive. You saw that they are convinced of the program's worth and showed themselves ready to carry it out. [passage omitted]

[Kesic] Do the other members of the Federal Government share your view that the FEC should tender its resignation if the program of anti-inflation measures is rejected?

[Marendic] In their work to date, all the members of the FEC have been united in their views. However, regarding this possible proposal that the FEC tender its resignation in the event of its program's rejection, it is worth bearing in mind that the Federal Government is composed of human beings, although some people may see them merely as ministers, which is also human. I can therefore only speak for myself. I came to the post of director of the Federal Social Planning Institute for two reasons: First, because I was convinced that the model whose general outlines were put forward when Markovic formed his cabinet can lead the country out of the crisis. In other words, my reasons stemmed from an idealistic sense of challenge for a man of science and—do not reproach me here—patriotism. The second reason was that I was convinced, and I have not yet budged in this conviction, that Ante Markovic is at present the only person in Yugoslavia able in these complex economic and political circumstances to draw up and form this economic policy and carry it through to the end. [passage omitted]

## Market Economy Concept Not To Be Abandoned

*LD2809032289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1755 GMT 27 Sep 89*

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 27 (TANJUG)—The anti-inflation package proposed by the Yugoslav government to be submitted for approval to the federal parliament on Friday, was today upheld by all the six republics.

Prime Minister Ante Markovic told his counterparts in the republics and provinces that the government has no intention of abandoning liberalization of imports and a real exchange rate of the dinar, government press spokesman Darko Marin told reporters in Belgrade today. The government sees these measures as crucial for attaining a 20-percent annual growth rate in the exports sector and the targeted growth of the social product of between 4 and 5 percent, without which it will be impossible to curb inflation now running at about 900 percent.

Remaining true to the concept of a market-oriented economy, the government has decided to intervene more strongly in the monetary and taxation policy sectors. It will control, to a certain extent, prices and wages. It will insist that Yugoslav firms take into account market criteria in price formation, abandon the social compact on wage distribution, use collective contracts and distribute wages according to the results achieved.

The exact amount of the country's internal deficits will be determined until the end of the year, and the government will see to it that [words indistinct] covered, said Marin, but it will not permit that the grey emissions are used in future to this end.

Since the losses cannot be covered from accumulation from domestic sources, the government counts on one-billion-dollar aid from international financial institutions which will be primarily used for rehabilitation of commercial banks.

The government has also decided not to shorten the working hours in Yugoslavia from 42 to 40 hours a week. Before introducing the move, said Marin, the government requires that an analysis be n. .de in all enterprises of the true effects of shortening the work week.

## Report on Strikes Reveals Deepening Crisis

*LD0110114789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0151 GMT 1 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 1 Oct (TANJUG)—The statistic that between the beginning of January and the end of August this year 1,194 strikes were recorded in which 273,543 workers took part, bears witness to the deepening of the economic, social, and political crisis in our country.

According to a report compiled on the basis of statistics of Republican and Provincial Councils of the Trade Union Federation, most work stoppages occurred in Croatia—376 (with 76,016 workers taking part), and fewest in Vojvodina—34 (8,698). Among the biggest strikes this summer are the work stoppages by engine drivers in the Zagreb Railway Transport Enterprise, by textile workers in Skopje and by miners in "Kreka".

The dizzying rise in inflation and the cost of living during the course of this year has further worsened the material and social position of workers. Thus, compared to the first 6 months of last year, 212 more work stoppages were recorded in the country in the same period this year, whilst the number of participants is up by 63,000. On average 215 workers took part in one

strike, and 194 last year, the report on trends and basic characteristics of strikes in 1989 says.

In the first 6 months of this year 991 strikes were recorded with about 214,000 participants. This, however, does not include strikes of a political nature in the region of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, of which there were 181. According to statistics of the Committee for Work and Work Inspection of Kosovo, in the first 3 months of this year 51,660 workers took part in strikes, which is 22 percent of the overall number of employees in the social sector of this province. [passage omitted]

The duration of strikes varies from a fews hours to 6 days, depending on what kind of economic possibilities exist for collectives to satisfy the demands of workers. It is characteristic for workers to increasingly frequently herald a strike and demands, giving a time-scale for their resolution. This shows that workers do not want to resolve their material position exclusively by this means, but on the contrary resort to it as a final means, which, judging from experience, is the most effective. [passage omitted]